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THE MAYA SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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PROFERTUR

With this issue presentation is made of the QUARTERLY. Its purpose, reflecting that of its sponsors, is to bring forth into usability and into English translations, important material from that veritable ocean which has so long remained inaccessible and inactive. In the widely and rapidly growing interest in ancient American civilizations, the demand for knowledge has so far been met by stressing two or three recondite and difficult elements, as being all there exists as yet to be known. At the same time the essential questions of origins and actual culture are treated with learned ignorance, plus a constant accentuation of a purely hypothetical savage state a thousand or two years back. Concerning origins (a matter as to which *no one* so far *knows* anything) we are given categorical assertions based on unverified pure assumptions, stated however as known facts. Questions of the actual culture, and its greatness, two thousand years ago, are almost ignored, save as forced on us by the obvious skill in those great crafts of stone-working and chronological mathematics; while any real and serious research into linguistics as a science, with all it can tell us, is simply non-existent.

The public's attention is drawn entirely to field work by those devoted to that exercise, and the very existence of the material which is to fill the coming pages of the QUARTERLY has been unknown even to those in reasonably close contact with the subject. It is this that we plan to bring into published form, whereby to give shape and substance to the answers desired; and, not the least, to stimulate this neglected research. Material in manuscripts and rare early, untranslated works, is to be not only printed, but annotated and edited. While most of all, the native sources themselves, giving *their own* stories of their origins, history, and governmental structure, are to be both translated and edited, for an ensuing discussion by our interested public. The seven main branches of the Mayance languages are to be drawn upon, and themselves studied and presented (so far as we can now reach), as tongues worth study in the same way as we do Chaucer, Greek, Old Norse, and other cultural languages. They are veritably worth it.

It is our plan to put into each issue as much material to stimulate study, and further reading, as possible. The articles will in the main be short, as of verified facts and interpretations, rather than of opinions; to develop our first article in this number, with all the actual material that could be brought in upon it, would run to two hundred pages, instead of the twenty here given. Each issue is therefore planned to include texts, translations, glyph studies, and some critical reviews where the subject justifies the space. For unsigned short articles the Editor is responsible.

The Maya Society Council.

The Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, December 1931.

THE THIRTEEN AHAUS IN THE KAUA MANUSCRIPT

and related katun wheels in the Paris Codex, Landa,
Cogolludo and the Chumayel

By WILLIAM GATES

The pages of the Maya Chilan Balam de Kaua treating of the establishment of thirteen katuns at different places, each section having in the margin a crowned head, with name beneath, and corresponding to the illustration in Cogolludo, have long been known. The language is archaic, condensed, made up of phrases whose ceremonial application has been lost and, all in all, affording as difficult a piece of translation as we find in all our Maya texts, and for that reason hitherto let alone. Its real character has also been obscured by the wholly adventitious set of dates attached, based as on a 24-year count of the katun.

The passage seemed to me the most important text in sight as a leading article in the first issue of the MAYA SOCIETY QUARTERLY, and the first obvious step was to parallel the pictures and the texts in Landa, Cogolludo and the Chumayel. The result will be told as we go on; it revealed a wholly unsuspected fact of the highest importance, breaking far into Maya scientific and historical methods, along lines never yet entered. And I believe that, in some direct way, the Thirteen Katuns on the Paris Codex come into the picture.

To describe the matter briefly: The heads and names in the Kaua and in Cogolludo match. Four of the thirteen clauses in the Kaua are given almost verbatim (but with interesting word-variants) on page 73

Cogolludo, p. 133

Ah-Napot Xiu
Zon Ceh
Ahau Tuyu
Xul Cumche
Tucuch
Cit Covat Chumaiel
Uluac Chan
Nauat

Ah-Napot Xiu
Zon Ceh
Ahau Tuyu
Xul Cumche
Tucuch
Cit Covat Chumayel
Uluac Chan
Nauat

Kupul
Kan Caba
Pacab
Yiban Can
Ah-kin Chi

Ah-kin chij Cobaa
Yiban Caan
Pacaab
Kan Cabau
Kupul

Kaua, pp. 166-171

3 Ahau: Zuyva	(1632)
1 Ahau: Mal	(1656)
12 Ahau: Sacactun	(1680)
10 Ahau: Lahun Chable	(1704)
8 Ahau: Lahun Chable	(1728)
6 Ahau: Uxmal	(1752)
4 Ahau: Chichen	(1776)
2 Ahau: Maycu Saccii yan	
pan	1800
13 Ahau: Kinchil Coba	1824
11 Ahau: Ichcaansihoo	1848
9 Ahau:	1872
7 Ahau: Mayapan	1896
5 Ahau: Zoqil	1901

of the Chumayel; the 11 Ahau clause is again given on page 13 of the Chumayel; and finally the phraseology of the Kaua is condensed in the rays surrounding the Wheel on Chumayel, page 72. Thirteen crowned heads are arranged in a table on Ch. 83, and then a wholly different text, evidently the work of Hoil himself, is expanded for the 13 katuns on pp. 87-100. While a 13 katun series appears twice in the Paris Codex.

As stated, the translation is exceedingly difficult; worse even than the Ritual of the Bacabs, in much. Beyond that, the clauses are short, and often then made up of words which have two or three wholly different meanings, among which we have little or no guide for our choice. Again, even when a clear word-translation is possible, we have not the least idea of what metaphor was being employed, or what it actually referred to, or meant to those using it. Again, due to a combination of the above factors, there are some parts of the text as to which even a connected translation would only be a stunt in daring, and forced meanings.

In the issues of the Maya Society it is our plan to provide material for study, and as a stimulus thereto. I have been studying and correlating all the known material in the Mayance languages for the past twenty or thirty years, and I know when I have a passage that is beyond me; nor do I care in the least for the worthless applause that comes from a smooth translation that I know my readers have no means of checking me up on. The Maya Society Council, my co-workers here at the Johns Hopkins, and myself, all want to aid and stimulate research into this manuscript, linguistic and historical field which has until now been a neglected stepchild. And I know no better way to go ahead (for all these reasons), than to do the best I can with these difficult but

<i>Chumayel, wheel p. 72</i>	<i>p. 83</i>	<i>pp. 87-100</i>
3 Ahau: Zuyva	3 Ahau: 5°	5°, 1620: 3 Ahau: Ychcaançihoo
1 Ahau: Emal	1 Ahau: 6°	6°, 1640: 1 Ahau: Emal
12 Ahau: Zaclahtun	12 Ahau: 7°	7°, 1660: 12 Ahau: Zaclahtun
10 Ahau: Lahun Chable	10 Ahau: 8°	8°, 1680: 10 Ahau: Chable
8 Ahau: Lahun Chable	8 Ahau: 9°	9°, 1700: 8 Ahau: Yğmal
6 Ahau:	6 Ahau: 10°	10°, 1720: 6 Ahau: Uxmal
4 Ahau: Chich'een Yğa	4 Ahau: 11°	11°, 1740: 4 Ahau: Chich'eenYğa
2 Ahau: Maya Cuçamil	2 Ahau: 12°	12°, 1760: 2 Ahau: Maya vas Cuçamil
13 Ahau: Kin colah peten	13 Ahau: 13°	13°, 1780: 13 Ahau: Kinchil Coba
11 Ahau: Ichcansihoo	11 Ahau: 1°	1°, 1540: 11 Ahau: Yhcansihoo
9 Ahau:	9 Ahau: 2°	2°, 1560: 9 Ahau: Yhcansihoo
7 Ahau: Mayapan	7 Ahau: 3°	3°, 1580: 7 Ahau: Yhcansihoo
5 Ahau: Zoğ'il	5 Ahau: 4°	4°, 1600: 5 Ahau: Yhcansihoo

immensely interesting and attractive texts, and patently leave gaps for some others to come along, and fill in, where I still could not. One by one I plan to bring forth texts in all the Mayance languages available, treating each this same way. Where I can add a footnote that may help on an 'untranslatable,' I will; leaving the Maya or other word in the middle of the English, as it comes, and as I have done in what here follows.—Therefore: to our texts.



Cogolludo, 1688 edition, p. 133

As is well known, this 'picture' is ascribed by Cogolludo to the famous embassy of the Xius with the 'water-bringer' Ah-pul-ha Napot Xiu, to make sacrifice at the great Cenote at Chich'en for a cessation of the drought, and the murder of Napot Xiu at Ogomal, with all but one of his company, Ah-kin Chi, who was blinded and sent back with the tale of what happened. When Stephens was in Mani in 1841, there was shown him first the picture in Cogolludo, and then the *original* painting, with the same explanation. Cogolludo says the original painting had the date 1536, which he declares is an error, as the Xiu mission "took place in 1541." See a fuller discussion in Morley's *Copan*, p. 472.

The identity of the Cogolludo series with that in the Kaua is clear. There is hardly any difference even in orthography, the only variance being that the last five names are in reverse order in Cogolludo; the parallelism of the above columns shows clearly that the Kaua order is the proper one. It is to be further noted that all the faces are bearded in each, except Ah-kin Chi and Cit Covat Chumayel, whose faces are smooth in each text. Also, Ah-kin Chi, who represents the 13-Ahau, has an arrow entering his eye in each text.

In the hieroglyphic Paris Codex we have, on pages 23-4, a katun series plainly shown by the succession of blue numerals at the bottom, in the regular order. The last at the right is 6, and the 4 must have been in the erased space at the left. Above the blue numerals are columns of five red numerals, each column representing a double-tolkin of 520 days, and each column also decreasing by 2, left to right: 10, 8, 6, etc.

On the opposite side of the Paris Codex we have left in the central pictures, pages 2-11, ten out of an original katun series, with the numbered ahaus in proper order; and if this series began on page 1, it also ran from 4-Ahau to 6-Ahau, the same as the blue numbers on pp. 23-4.

Turning now to the Chumayel series on pages 87-100, we find that the writer definitely ascribes the successive katuns to the years 1540 to 1800, and assigns 11-Ahau to the twenty 'years' from 1540 to 1560, making that score of years, and the 11-Ahau katun the beginning of a *new* 260-year cycle, of Spanish domination, following the Maya rule that ended with the 13-Ahau. The Lord of Mani visited Montejo at Merida, Ti-Hoo, or Ichcaansihoo, on Jan. 11, 1541, and Merida was officially founded the next year. This provides Hoil with his beginning of 11-Ahau with the year 1541, and ending it with 1560. These pages of the Chumayel vary completely from the Kaua text, in both style and facts, and constitute actually a *new redaction* of the 260-'year' katun period by their author, probably Hoil himself. They are strongly Christian in *wording*, yet filled with veiled adherence to the old order, and a final expectation that this 'wheel' will end at 1800 with the downfall of the Spanish order, and rehabilitation of the Maya. Hoil wrote, and signed his name, in 1782, within the, to him, fate-burdened katun 13-Ahau. Nor was he in fact so very unprophetic, since in the katun, 1800-20, the Spanish rule did begin to break, and the first press was set up in Yucatan.

Next, returning to our Kaua text, we are told there that the katun 2-Ahau will end with the year 1800; the 13-Ahau with 1824, the 11, 9, 7-Ahau with 1848, 1872, 1896, and 5-Ahau with 1921 (*sic*). Hoil took the katuns as 20 'years,' having forgotten or never known the length of the tun, and unaware of the inapplicability of the 13, 11, 9 etc. numbers to 20-'year' terms. But the writer of the Kaua did see this, and in consequence gave us our first instance of defining the katun as 24 years. This gave him a wheel of 312 years, wherein he made contact with the Hoil 9-Ahau katun at the year 1560; although he did not give in his text any year-dates back of 1800. In the parallel above we have added the years there in parenthesis, back to Zuyva, 3-Ahau, 1632.

To Hoil, and the Mayas generally, katun 11-Ahau began with 1540, and ended with 1560; the Kaua writer must have taken this latter fact as his base of calculation, and then added successive 24's. But all these European year dates were wholly extraneous to his text, and meant nothing in its connection. His cycle, and also the Chumayel wheel on page 72, ran from Zuyva at 3-Ahau, to Zot'il at 5-Ahau, with which he includes the identical personages shown and named in the Cogolludo picture, with Ah-Napot Xiu at the top. These personages are lost to the Chumayel texts.

At Mayapan is fixed the katun, in 7 Ahau.

At Zoğ'il is fixed the katun in 5 Ahau, drought may come in the reign of the katun 5 Ahau. At the South it is.

At Zuyva is fixed the katun in 3 Ahau Katun; stretched the skin of the snake, the skin of the tiger; the firefly, the fame of its countenance in the reign of the 3 Ahau katun.

Emal is fixed the katun in 1 Ahau; there shall descend bonds, shall descend ropes in the day; of the descent of Ixyom, Yxualicay.

At Zaclahtun is fixed the katun in 12 Ahau; the first Chuen is its countenance in its reign. At the West it is.

Lahun Chable is fixed the katun in 10 Ahau.

At Lahun Chable is fixed the katun in 8 Ahau.

At Vuc Yabnal is fixed the katun in 6 Ahau. At the North it is.

In 4 Ahau, Vuc Yabnal is fixed the katun at Chich'en Iğa.

In 2 Ahau, Maya, Cuçamil, Mayapan.

13 Ahau katun, Kin colah peten, is fixed the katun, 13 Ahau katun.

The katun wheel in Landa, p. 312, places 11 Ahau at the top, and reads to the right in order, each division showing an Ahau sign and the names, 11 Ahau, 9 Ahau, etc. In the center are the words: *Llaman a esta cuenta en su lengua Uazlazon Katun que quiere dezir la gerra de los Katunes*. Brasseur translates this, "the war or game of the katuns." This is impossible; it disregards the uazlazon entirely, and translates katun twice, first as 'war' and then as katun. Also, I know no place where the turning of the katun-wheel is called either its war or its game. It certainly is not a war, nor is it a Maya idea to call it a game, though every one seems to have adopted this translation. For the *gerra* (not *guerra*) in the Spanish text, I suggest a mis-read or mis-spelled *gira*, going about, turning; certainly a better emendation than to make it *guerra*. *Gira* is an accurate rendering of either uazlahan or uatğ'lahan, uaplahan, the turning or doubling back of the katuns. See under the table on Ch. p. 83: 260 haab ca sutnac, 260 years when it completes the circle. Uazlazon is not a correct Maya word.

We thus find ourselves with a 13-katun series in the Paris Codex, beginning with 4-Ahau; with another (obviously the most archaic among the later manuscripts) beginning with 3-Ahau, and with some European years that can be ignored as history; and then with a third redaction, starting anew with the Spanish occupation, and therewith historically dated, beginning with 11-Ahau from 1540 to 1560.

In the table we have begun all the columns with 3-Ahau, to bring out the parallels. We then get the following matching up: The names of persons match, only making the slight shift in the Cogolludo picture.

Except where Hoil has fixed five successive katuns at Ichcaansihoo, there is an also complete matching of the town names in all. In katun 2-Ahau there are four variations, mixing Cuzamil, Saci (the present Valladolid) and Mayapan; in the Chumayel text following the wheel on page 73, these names are further corrupted and mixed. No similar uncertainty occurs elsewhere. Finally, Kinchil Coba, with minor spelling variations, occurs for the 13-Ahau in every column of the table, among *both* personal and town names; no other like case is found for this. And the place Zuyva at the top recalls at once both the Maya and Cakchiquel Annals. Throughout the texts are other references to these names or times or places, and that history is buried in these details, for our research, cannot be doubted. That we can also hope to link up the hieroglyphic series in the Paris Codex, and find history there also (as the writer has for years suspected), is far from unreasonable.

But amidst these minutiae of research, one fact stands out by itself, of the highest value. That is, the use of a 13-katun series as a framework on which to hang, and into which to place, history and prophecy, chronological data past and future, exactly as the 13-vinal series (the *tolkins*) were used on the lower levels of science, ritual and divination. The writer's study of the Dresden and Madrid codices long ago made him feel sure that these glyph-arranged *tolkins*, in addition to astrological or astronomical uses, served as framework for myths and stories of the different deities. Everything seems to have been hung by the Mayas on and in terms of their wonderful chronological system, attaching teachings or ceremonies to their days quite as we do patriotism to our Fourth of July, masquerades to Mardi Gras or Halloween, worship to Easter and Christmas—or even a cherry-tree and hatchet to February 22.

This we have already seen, more or less definitely, as an adjunct of the *tolkin* of 13×20 days; but this Kauh text, with its repeated reflections in such distinct sources as the Paris Codex, Landa, Cogolludo, and different Chumayel passages (shifted just as the *tolkin* could be, in location, of place or time), opens a new door into Maya methods and science—which may even in time be found applied in the inscriptions.

One further, and most important, point comes in here. There has long been an unsettled question as to the use or counting of only 13 of the higher cycles in the system, instead of 20. The high dates at Tikal, Copan, Palenque and on Dresden 61, 69, all speak positively for a continuous multiplication by 20, corresponding to the known Maya numbers, to the sixth power of 20, or 64,000,000. Yet there are places where a 13-set seems perhaps indicated. If now, the Mayas used a *tolkin* wheel of 13×20 days, continuously turning within the larger equally continuous

periods; and then also had an Oxlahun Katun circle of exactly the same character, of 13 x 20 katuns, used for veiled history and prophecy, on that higher level of their sciences, why not also another yet higher 13-set, for other uses? A 13th baktun or pictun might in such case end a particular wheel, and Spinden find support for a part of his thesis, without interfering with the continuous long count any more than do the turnings of the *tolkin*, the *haab* of 365 days, or the *oxlahun katun*; or, for that matter, of any of the planetary cycles which the Maya were skilled in coordinating.

Coming now to the form and contents of our text itself, a few notes can be made. The introductory lines begin at the top of page 166 in the manuscript, the preceding pages having no connection. These three lines seem to contain a sort of prophetic statement concerning the last of the 13 katuns, the 5-Ahau; this in spite of the statement that 5-Ahau is the time of establishing. The 'wheel' certainly begins with 3-Ahau, and these three lines lack all the standard contents of the coming thirteen clauses.

A definite form and make-up runs through all of the thirteen, with very slight exceptions. Each normally begins with a place at which the katun is established; this has been suggested to imply a setting up of a katun monument every twenty years, at successive towns. If such had been the case, our now great number of discovered dated monuments should provide evidence for that assumption; but I know of no case that does. So that this question must await its future possible answer.

After this initial statement, and the Ahau date, there follows a description of different significant events or phenomena; from the nature of the case these must be partly prophetic, or else type-phenomena incident to the particular "reign" and its genius. As the reader will note, quite a few of these are stereotyped phrases, repeated over and again in different katuns. Such are the descent of the bonds, the ropes; the shaking of the heavens and earth; eating of bread from the leaves of the ramon-tree; descent of arrows and shields, and again of leaves, garlands and fragrance; shaking of drums and timbrels; roses (denoting immortality) the bread, accompanied by great abuses; etc.

Somewhere near the beginning of this part of each clause we find the statement that such-and-such, or so-and-so is the 'countenance' of the katun during its reign; if these 'songs' were dramatized (as they almost certainly must have been), that would imply masks in the presentation. The names of these 'countenances' are about the blindest part of the whole text; we find the Firefly ?thrush; the Squared God;

the First Chuen or the First Chac; 10 Channal, 7 Habnal, or 7 Yabnal, 7 Chanal, Sac Vacnal, besides our well-known Kinich-kakmo, Itzamna and even Ekchuah. Other personages also appear to plague us here, whatever they did in the old scenes: Ixpucyola (untranslatable), Cit Bolon (? the Word, Nine), Ah-bacocob, Bolon Tz'acab (Nine maternal generations).

As other place names we find, in 11-Ahau, Chakanputun and Sulin Chan; this latter Mediz Bolio gives an excellent suggestion for, as being the puzzling Bahía de *Solimán*, the latter name corrupted from the older.

And finally we get in 13-Ahau and 9-Ahau two surprising references to *ca-pic* and *ca-kinchil*, twice 8000, twice 3,200,000, as part of the burden of those katuns, amidst evil days. Troubles and disasters are most in evidence throughout; in some katuns the fortune is 'halfway good'; but only in the 12-Ahau is it throughout a time of peace and uprightness. The clauses then normally close by telling us that all these are *u-cuch katun*, the 'burden of the katun, in his time.'

This clearly ends the original matter; but each clause then adds the new statement, expressing the K'aua supposed length of the katun: 24 years are its burden, *u-cuchmal-e la*.

It has been the custom in all eras (even the Christian in some degree) to dramatize 'divine events' and myths; as well as to incorporate the symbolic teachings of human trials, and initiations thereinto, in costumed representations, mystery plays, processions, and chants. This whether in the Far East, in Thebes or within the Pyramids, at Eleusis or in the open streets of Athens and both 'pagan' and 'Christian' Rome; or in the mantramantic chants of the *Dies irae, dies illa, solvet saeculum cum favilla*. It takes no great stretch of imagination to see 'in the ancient days' these texts, and others like them, as well as those preserved in the codex glyph-golkins, costumed, masked with the 'countenances', dramatized and chanted: *Lay kay u-cuch katun lae, Itzamna u-vich ti yahaulil-i*.

TEXT

Bin chibil tan banac holil ochi. Likan ucal ahaucaan tumenob, uchom uyekabtan ubatabil cah-i. Ti ho ahau katun ukin uhej' lae.

24 años ucuchmale-la hunhuntul tiob xan.

Zuyva uhej' katun ti ox ahau; can-haylic ukeulel, can-haylic ukeulel balam. Yaxcocay mut uvich ti yahaulil ah-ox-ahau-katun. Oxil vah uvaah, sacpatay habil, pacatnom tu-canil; xotom ucal chac-bolay; okom-yol; yax-cach tu-hol can-be; pacatnom bulcum buluc ch'abtan; otzilhom, chachben-co ti vinic; uq'oc usitg'il; uchom matil likul ti caan. Hi binac-i vil ma uchumi-e cap'el yanil



Napot Xiu
ukaba

yokol Ychcansiho, ytel yanil yulah ti cab bin uchbal, lay hay cabil ucap'el ut'oc siḡ'il ychil ah-ox-ahau-katun.

24 años cuchmale-la.

Mal uheḡ' katun ti hun ahau. Emom tab, emom sum, ti kin yemel xypucyola, yxvalycii. Ox-kax uta, ox-kas utak, ox-kas yol ti yahaulil ti hun ahau katun. Amayte Ku uvich yahaulil; pecnom can, pecnom peten; tan-chumuc hulom uyanal-t'an. Okom han yol ti yahaulil ah-hun-ahau-katun lae.

Ti chikin yan ucoḡ'. 24 años cuchmale-la.

Saclactun uheḡ' katun ti lahca ahau. Yaxhal Chuen uvich ti yahaulil uchom hunac ahmenel, hunnac ah-yḡatil, okom yan tu-canil ti lahca ahau; cioḡillob cah, cici batabil, cici vinicil; manan tun ch'amac, minan tun coohtacil bin chibalnac-i; bin cioḡilac cahom ychil lahca ahau katun lae.

24 años cuchmale-la.

Lahun Chable uheḡ' katun ti lahun ahau. Lahun Channal uvich ti yahaulil. Ti Cit Bolon va takin ukaax-e be, cat pathom be ti can, ti sacpatay habil. Oxil vah uvah katun kasan uvich, kashan yahaulil. Tu-canil viih ucuch ah-lahun-ahau-katun lae.

24 años cuchmale-la.

Vaxac ahau. Lahun Chable uheḡ' katun ti vaxac ahau. Amayte Kauil uvich, Cit va uvich ti yahaulil. Tokol vah, tokol hau; ox-zelhom chakan, ca tali tu-kin. Yan Kin-ich-kakmo; valac yahaulil tu-Chich'en, tu-Chikaknab, tu-Chibahun yahaulil. Emom halal, emom chimal yokol paxeбалоб. Ut'oc siḡ'il, kax ut'an; ti hach yuchucil-e, yuchul-i ychil ah-vaxac-ahau-katun lae.

24 años ucuchmale-la. Ti xaman yan ucoḡ'.

Uxmal uheḡ' katun ti vac ahau. Vuccij Habnal uheḡ' katun. Kin-ich-kakmo uvich tu-canil, chic ut'an, chic uvich. Oklistuba tu-canil ca tali homol-ḡa ychil vac ahau katun. Vilnom che, vilnom tunich; xotom ucal; cuman ti pop, cuman ti ḡ'am; hokom oxtus-hen. Uhach-chacil cupil vah, chacmitan uich ucuch ah-vac-ahau-katun lae.

24 años ucuch-le-la.

Vuccij Habnal uheḡ' katun ti can ahau katun, tu-Chich'en. Vuc Chanal uheḡ' ti nohol. Ah-bacocob. Macan uvich, cimen vich yokol yn-nal, yok uvah; chac-kiktahom upop, ut'am, xekik ucuch tu-kin; yan sasacil aveex, sasac vil anok; yxch'aben vah, yxmachben vah. Holom kuk, holom yaxum, holom kaxte, hulom po yn-ḡimin te poi Mucuc Patan tu-Chich'een lae.

24 años ucuch-le-la.

Maycu Saccij yan pan uheḡ' katun ti cabil ahau. Oklistuba katun. Emom sum, emom saban; Maya-cimlal; oxmul-tun ḡek; sacpatay habil ca tali kaxan ucuch buluc ch'abtan kan yopol yk; oxil uvah, uvah cabil ahau; tancoch-han uvah, ma hach vah-ij. Lay ucuch ah-cabil-ahau-katun lae. 1800 años bin ḡ'ococ cabil ahau.

24 años ucuch-le-la.



Zon-ceh
ukaba



Ahau Tuyu
ukaba



Xul Cumche
ukaba



Tucuch
ukaba



Cit Covat
Chumayel
ukaba



Uluac Chan
ukaba



Nauat
ukaba



Ah-Kinchil
Cobaa
ukaba

Kinchil Coba uheḡ' katun ti oxlahun ahau. Yḡamna, Yḡam-ḡab uvich ti yahaulil; bin vibic oxte lae, oxte ti habil. Sakil vijl ucuch oxlahun ahau katun lae. Ti lakin yan lae ucoḡ'. Tu-habil 1824 años, bin ḡ'ococ oxlahun ahau.



Yiban Caan
ukaba

Buluc ahau uheḡ' katun Yhcansihoo. Yaxhal Chac uvich. Emom canal val, canal uḡ'ub; pecnom pax, pecnom soot. Ah-bolon-yocte tu-kin, yan Suliin Chan tu-kin, yan Chakanputum; vilmon che, vilmon tunich ca tali ychil ah-buluc-ahau-katun. Okban can, oxkoch uvah katun; xotom ucal Yaxal Chuen. Vecen yxkan yulta ti yulel usacil ak, usacil aveex; cech yxma-yum, cech yxma-na. Buluc ahau ukin uheḡ' katun lae. Tu-habil 1848 años bin lukul buluc ahau. 24 años ucuch-le-la.

Also, 11 Ahau, on Chumayel, page 13.

Chumayel, p. 13): Buluc ahau katun. Cumaan ti pop, cumaan ti ḡ'aam. Ti valaac ut'an, ti valaac yahaulil-i. Yax-xaal Chac uvich ti yahaulil-i. Emom caanil val, emom caanil ḡulub, caanil uḡ'ub; pecnom upax, pecnom usoot ah-buluc-ahau, ti yocte tok, yubte takin; yax uḡ tuba. Tu-kin yan Sulim Chan, tu-kin yan Chikinputun. Viilnom che, viilnom tunich; ah-satal viil ychil ah-buluuc ahau katun. Buluuc Ahau uhop'ol uxocol, yoklal lay katun yan ca uli ḡ'ulob, ti utalelob ti likin ca uliob-e; ti ix hop'i christianoil xan-i, ti lakin uḡ'oc t'an Ychcaansihoo uheḡ' katun.



Pacaab
ukaba

Vucij Habnal uheḡ' katun ti bolon ahau katun tu-kin yan. Oklistuba valac yahaulil, tu-pop, tu-ḡ'am, ti yan yemel tab. Sip ut'an, sip uchi, sip tu-vich, sip katun ti yahaulil. Upit ucuch katun, ca tali ek yximil vaah uvah katun ti ah-bolon-ahau. Ca-kinchil, Sac Vacnal uvich ti yahaulil. Tokol ha, tokol u uuah katun; utucul katun, upucikal. Tz'eḡ'il-i ut'an, ukati lae. Tu-habil 1872 años bin lukuc bolon ahau lae.

24 años ucuch-le-la.



Kan Cabau
ukaba

Mayapan uheḡ' tun (*sic*) vuuc ahau. Ekchuuah uvich ti yahaulil. Nictail uvah katun ti vuc ahau. P'entac-eeh calpach lay utucul tan muk uhanal Yhcansihoo, y yuklah ti cab coil t'an. Bolon ḡ'akab vah yal cat uli yemel yal ix kuk, yal ix yaxum. Vaan ti ḡ'aatḡ, vaan ti bulux-e; yuḡil vinic ti ix tali yuḡil ahau, hunte ti katun-e; chac-ohom uvich tu-cab, tu petenil, y ychil vuc ahau katun. Tu-habil 1896 años bin lubal vuc ahau. Ti nohool yan ucoḡ'.

24 años ucuch-le-la.



Kupul
ukaba

Zoḡ'il uheḡ' katun ti ho ahau. P'issahom kauahom vil ti yahaulil ti ho ahau. Ox-koch uvah, nictail uvah katun; p'encech calpach, banban coil, coil-t'an; cohpanan nuxib, cohpanan xnuc ti ho ahau. T'olt'ol can chacil ucah ti cin likil baitun kaxal-e; he tub cu ḡ'ic-e ucuch vih, ucuch maix hach vih-i. Yamhom uvah hunpach kaxil ti yulel uyanal-t'an-i ordenansas ukaba, ḡ'aic xuch vevet ukaba, tu-hun-chun utal, ca bin huluc, etc. Tu-habil 1921 años bin lukuc ho ahau.

The following are found on Chumayel, page 73.

Buluc ahau uheṭṭ' katun Ychcaançihoo. Yaaxhal uvich. Emom canal val, emom canal uṭ'ub; pecnom upax, pecnom uṣoot. Ah-bolon-yocte tu-kin, yan yax-cuṣ tu-kin, yan Çulum Chan tu-kin, Chakanputun; vilnoh che, vilnom tunich ah-çali viil ychil ah-Buluc-Ahau-katun lae.

Vuc Yabnal uheṭṭ' katun ti can ahau katun tu-Chich'een. Vuc Yabnal uheṭṭ' ti nohol. Ah-bacocol. Macan uvich, cimen uvich yokol yaal, yokol vaah; chac-kitannahom upop, y uṣ'aam; xekik ucuch tu-kin; yan çaçac vil uyex, çacac vil unak; ixmachan-men vah uvah katun. Hulom kuk, hulom yaxum, hulom kaxte, hulom mute, hulom ṭimin; mucuc patan ti Chich'een lae.

Maylu Zaci maya patan uheṭṭ' katun ti cabil ahau katun. Oclituba katun. Emom çum, emom çaban; maya-cimlal; oxmul-tun ṭekil; çacpetay vinicil ca tali kaxan ucuch buluc ch'abtan kan yopol yk; oxil vah uvah cabil ahau; tancochhom viih-i, tancochhom vah-i. Lay ucuch ah-cabil-ahau-katun lae.

Kinchil Coba uheṭṭ' katun maya cu, oxlahun ahau katun. Yṭamna, Yṭamazab uvich ti yahaulil; bin viibic ox-i, oxe ti hab. Cakal abil, lahun ṣacab; etbom val, etbom uṭ'ub. Yaxaal Chac ucuch tu-caanil; ixmachachen vah uvah katun ti oxlahun ahau; chiban-kin-i, ca-pic ucuch katun; çatay vinicil, çatay ahaulil; ho-p'el kin vil chian-kin ca bin pacatnac. Lay ucuch ah-oxlahun-ahau-katun lae.

TRANSLATION

A devouring shall come at the failure of the last of the food. When their necks are raised by the rattlesnakes, there shall happen menace to the lordship of the country. In Five Ahau is the time of the establishing of the katun. 24 years it carries thus, steadily one by one.

Zuyva the establishing of the katun at 3 Ahau; forcibly is stretched out the skin of the snake, stretched out the skin of the tiger. Yaxcocay Mut (firefly, thrush) is the countenance of the katun 3 Ahau during its reign. Leaves of the ramon-tree are its food, moderately propitious the year, its sky will be clear; there shall be cut the throat of the red-spotted tiger; there will be grief; new-broken the entrance to the road of the sky; clear will be made bulcum buluc ch'abtan; there will be poverty, and great frenzy among the people; their desire is finished; there shall happen wonders from the sky. Thus perhaps not twice will there be a lying upon Ichcaansihoo, nor a coming to the earth to bring about this, the second destruction. Desire ends in the 3 Ahau katun. 24 years it carries thus.

Emal is the establishing of the katun at 1 Ahau; there shall descend bonds, shall descend cords, at the time of the descent of Ixpucyola, of

Ixvalicii. Divided in three its paunch, in three its size, in three its heart, in the reign of the katun 1 Ahau. **Amayte Ku** (the squared god) is its countenance during its reign. There shall shake the heavens, there shall shake the earth-circle; in the center shall come another Word. Burdened in soul in his reign is the lord of the katun 1 Ahau. At the West is its turning. 24 years it carries thus.

Saactun is the establishing of the katun in 12 Ahau. **Yaxhal Chuuen** its countenance during its reign. There will come the greatly skilled one, the greatly wise one; thus is compassion from above in 12 Ahau; in peace is the land, upright the chieftains, upright the people; neither is found the wildcat, nor found the tigers to devour; peace there shall be. So shall it happen in katun 12 Ahau. 24 years are thus its burden.

Lahun Chablé is the establishing of the katun in 10 Ahau. **Lahun Channal** is its countenance during its reign. With **Cit Bolon**, perchance silver the path of the milpa, when is to be made clear the road to the sky, in the partly propitious year. Ramon-tree leaves the food of the katun, divided its face, divided its reign. Food from above is the charge of the lord of the katun 10 Ahau. 24 years it carries thus.

8 Ahau. **Lahun Chablé** is the establishing of the katun in 8 Ahau. **Amayte Kavil** (squared god) its countenance; **Cit va** (the Word, perchance) its countenance in its reign. Made to bleed the food, made to bleed the milpa; as painted with three colors shall be covered the meadow, when comes the time. **Kin-ich-kakmo** is present; now is the reign at Chich'en, at Chi-kaknab, at Chi-bahun its reign. There shall descend arrows, shields shall descend, whereon they are to break. Desire ends, its speech is bound; great is its might, its power, in the katun 8 Ahau.

At the North its turning. **Uxmal** is the establishing of the katun in 6 Ahau. **Vuccii Habnal** the establishing of the katun. **Kin-ich-kakmo** is its countenance in the sky, the sign of its word, the sign of its countenance. **Oklistuba** in the heaven, when comes the interruption in katun 6 Ahau. They shall eat trees, stones shall they eat; cut shall be its neck. Seated on the mat, seated on the throne; it shall grow forth **ox-tus-hen**. Very great the lack of bread; a general famine is the burden of that one, the katun 6 Ahau. 24 years it carries there.

Vuccii Habnal the establishing of the katun in the katun 4 Ahau, at Chich'en. **Vuc Chanal** its establishing, at the South. **Ah-bacocob**. Covered its face, dead its face; crying for my maize-ears, crying for bread; all turned to blood its mat, its throne; the vomiting of blood the burden of the time. White is perchance thy garment, white per-

chance thy clothing; seized perhaps the bread, taken perhaps the bread. There shall come the quetzal, shall come the green plumes, shall come kaxte, shall come yŷ'o, shall come ŷimin (the tapir). Buried the tribute there at Chich'en. 24 years it carries.

Maycu Saccii yan pan the establishing of the katun in 2 Ahau. Oklistuba katun. There shall descend ropes; poison shall descend; pestilence among the Mayas; three heaps of skulls. Partly propitious the year, when came wrapped the burden of buluc ch'abtan kan yopol ik; ramon leaves the food in 2 Ahau. Divided in half its bread, very little the bread. This is the burden of him, the lord of katun 2 Ahau. The year 1800 will end 2 Ahau; 1596 when was established 2 Ahau.

Kinchil Cobá is the establishing of the katun at 13 Ahau. Itzam-na, Itzam-ŷab is its countenance during its reign. There shall be eating of the ramon-tree, during three years. Anxiety indeed is the burden of the katun 13 Ahau. (Chumayel, p. 73, goes on here as follows:) Joined the leaves, joined the fragrance. Yaxa al Chac (the first-born giant) is the bearer of the heavens; not much the bread, the bread of the katun, in 13 Ahau. Eclipsed the sun; ca-pic (twice 8000) the burden of the katun; lost the people, lost the chiefs. Five days thus obscured the sun, until it shall appear. This is the burden of that one, the katun 13 Ahau. (The Kaa text concludes:) The 13 Ahau will end in the year 1824; at the East is its turning.

Ichcaansihoo is the establishing of the katun at 11 Ahau. Yaxal Chac (the first-born Chac, or giant) its countenance. From above shall fall leaves, from above fragrance. There shall roll the drums, there shall sound the timbrels. He of the Nine Strides in its time; (Ch. p. 73, inserts: the green pheasant is in its day); in its day is Sulin Chan, is Chakanputun. There shall be eaten the trees, there shall be eaten the stones, when he comes in the katun 11 Ahau. Compassionate the heavens, thrice condemned the bread of the katun. Cut shall be the neck of Yaxal Ch'uen (the first-born Ch'uen). Vecan ixkan yulta at the coming of the whiteness of thy clothing, the whiteness of thy garment. Thou art without a father, thou art without a mother. 1 Ahau is the time of the establishing of the katun. In the year 1848 will be separated 11 Ahau.

On page 13 of the Chumayel is found this isolated paragraph: 11 Ahau katun; seated on the mat, seated on the throne. Now is its voice, now is its reign. Yax-xaal Chac its countenance in its reign. There shall fall from heaven leaves, there shall fall from heaven garlands, from heaven fragrance; there shall roll the drums, there shall sound the timbrels. He of the Nine Strides (ah-buluc-ahau ti yocte) tok, yubte takin;

yax uꝝ tuba tu-kin; in its day is Sulim Chan, is Chikinputun. There shall be eaten the trees, shall be eaten the stones; the consumer of food in 11 Ahau katun. 11 Ahau is the beginning of the count, because in this katun it is that came the strange people, the foreigners, on their arrival in the East, when they came.

Vucii Habnal is the establishing of the katun, in the katun 9 Ahau; in his day it is. Oklistuba valac its reign, on his mat, on his throne, on the occasion of the descent of the bonds. Evil is his speech, evil his voice, evil on his face, evil the katun in his reign. Stripped is the burden of the katun, when comes the black maize-bread for its food, in the katun of the 9 Ahau lord. Ca-kinchil (twice 3,200,000); Sac Vacnal its countenance in its reign. Made to bleed the waters (?milpa), made to bleed the food of the katun, the thought of the katun, its heart. Small is his voice, his wish. In the year 1872 will depart 9 Ahau.

Mayapan the establishing of the katun in 7 Ahau. Ek-chuah, is its countenance in its rule. Roses the bread of the katun in 7 Ahau; excessive abuses; this the thought at the loss of food of Ichcaansihoo; and throughout the whole earth are insane words. Bolon Tz'acab, vah yal, when came the descent yalix of the quetzal, yalix of the green feathers. Risen to fulness, risen to overflowing; goodness in the people, and so came goodness in the rulers, in that the first katun; greatly known its countenance in the land, in the circle of the earth, and in katun 7 Ahau. In the year 1896 will fall 7 Ahau; its turning is at the South.

Zogil is the establishing of the katun in 5 Ahau. P'issahom kauahom perchance in its reign, in 5 Ahau. Thrice condemned its bread, roses the bread of the katun; excessive abuses; exceeding madmen's talk; beaten the old men, beaten the old women, in 5 Ahau. T'olt'ol can chacil ucah ti cin likil baitun kaxal-e; he tub cu t'ic-e the burden of food, the burden, too, of very little food. Bread there shall be, from the clearing of the ground for new milpas, at the coming of another Word, ordinances by name, for the giving of xuch vevet, as it is called. For a new foundation it comes; and it shall arrive, etc. In the year 1921 will be set off 5 Ahau.

SCHOLIA

In addition to the full Kua text we have: first, on Chumayel p. 13 an expanded text of the 11-Ahau clause; next, in the rays of the wheel on page 72 we have a close but much condensed repetition of the Kua text; finally, on page 73 the 4, 2, 13 and 11-Ahau clauses repeated. There are variants in each case, sometimes confirming an uncertain or blind passage, again changing the Kua text so as to give a possible meaning where that does not—as in **puzhom kohom** for **p'issahom kauahom**. None of these variations can be disregarded.

Hoil's signature occurs in the Chumayel, dated 1782; the first page of the Kaua bears the date 1789. What is clear is that Hoil must have had at hand these three fragments of the archaic wheel and text, and incorporated them into his commonplace book, which is now known as the Chumayel ms. With the full text, accompanied by a modified combination **goikin** and **13-katun** wheel, then occurring in the Kaua, it is clear that this whole matter must have been widely spread among the Mayas of the country at that time. In Valladolid in 1918 I was told by a Yucatecan that his family had had a whole trunk full of "just Indian papers, in Maya, which they had burned up as of no account." From what I myself learned on that trip, fifty times as much Maya must have been destroyed in the century after Independence, and closing with the destruction under Alvarado in 1915, as all that exists today, anywhere.

One marked variation between the Kaua and the Chumayel mss. is in that the former uses **s**, while Hoil employs **ç** regularly. Another point to be noted is where Hoil ceases to copy, and writes his own. The last sentence in the 11-Ahau clause on page 13 is in point; this adds to the archaic text the statement that the foreigners and Christianity came in 11-Ahau. Not only is this fact foreign to the old text, but there is a distinct change in the style and tone. This same difference is then complete in the new Hoil redaction on pages 87-100, where facts and tone are totally different, as placed in the newly arranged 11-Ahau series, covering 1540-1800.

To facilitate study, the following notes will be grouped according to clauses.

Zuyva: 3 Ahau. The text would perhaps be better arranged, **can-haylic ukeulel can, haylic ukeulel balam**; as a prefix, **can** is intensive, and means 'forcibly'; as a word it means snake; compare the text as condensed on the wheel. — **Mut:** I am doubtful here, but the wheel text confirms it. Note again that these two texts are in two mss., and that Hoil clearly did not have the Kaua actual text to go by, but some other copy from their common ancient source. — **Oxil vah:** this is interesting, for one's first reading would be 'thrice.' But the **-il** ending does not belong on a numeral; it is either definitive of the concrete instance, or else adjectival (which to the Maya was the same idea). **Oxil uvah uvah cabil ahau** in the 2-Ahau, does not mean "thrice will the bread be allowed to fall" (Mediz Bolio); what we have is 'bread of the ramon-tree' called **ox**, and whose leaves are the immediate fodder of the animals in going through the Yucatan jungle. — **Sac-patay:** **sac** is given in the Motul as used in composition to denote imperfection, diminution of the idea; the different forms of the word **pat** mean to verify, clear up; the word is used a number of times, and 'moderately propitious' seems the nearest fit meaning. It is once spelled **sac-petay**, which I have disregarded, since the only meaning for **pet** is circle. — **Can-be:** rendered 'the road of the sky,' but with much doubt. — **Maçil:** this I have rendered as an error for **maçil**, wonders, marvels.

Emal: 1 Ahau. **Ixpucyola** is certainly a spirit of destruction; on page 15 the Chumayel invokes the justice of God that **Ah-kantenal** and **Ixpucyola** may come to destroy the oppressors of the people. On the wheel the name is given as **Ixyom**. — **Ixvalicii** is repeated almost identically on the wheel, **Ixvalicay**; in the Hoil redaction for **Emal, 1 Ahau, 1640**, we find **Ixpucyola** and **Oxvalahcii**, which Mediz Bolio etymologizes as 'Three leaves of henequén,' which merely separates the elements of one spelling, and ignores the rest in an effort to explain a proper name of a personage of whom we know nothing but the name. — **Amayte Ku.** Pío Pérez gives **amayté** as squared, and says it means the "first 20 of the 24 years of the ahau-katun,"

after which he defines **amaytun** as a square block or pedestal on which the 20 years were placed, the pedestal representing the extra four—a wholly erroneous explanation based on the mistake as to the length of the katun. He also adds that they called the 'paintings they figured' **amaytun**. **Ku** is of course the supreme deity, **Hunal-ku**, 'the One-ness God' (not merely the One God, but God in his Oneness); see the Song of the Vinal at the end of this number.

Saclactun: 12 Ahau. (Also **Saclahtun**.) **Yaxhal Chuen.** **Yaxal**, **yaxaal** means first-born, or first in position, primate; **yaxhal** also means made, or become the chief, **yax** with the common verbal ending **-hal**; we find all three forms, each with the same value. Elsewhere they are applied to a **Chac**, and seem to denote the Chief Chac; there are slight indications of a fifth such being, who stands holding the sky alone, the Great Chac. The **Zuñis** have the four kinds of corn for the four quarters, and the speckled for the center; among the **Mayas** we have the colors red, white, black and yellow, and it is possible that green or blue may have stood for the fifth direction. I know of no direct reference to this, however; nor even that the suggestion has been made. — **Cioñillob cah:** there are three **Maya** words for land, of which **cab** is the earth itself, **luum** the soil of the earth, and **cah** the inhabited region, district, town; these three words are all used in the Song of the Vinal, with distinct applications. Here I take it that **cah** is used in the group sense, the people, and thus causes the plural form **cioñillob**. — **Manan, minan:** both are used; the **manan** is the older, probably, **man-an**, there is not, *no bay*. The **minaan** one hears at every step in **Yucatan** today: "there is none."

Lahun Chable: 10 Ahau. **Lahun Chaan** is given by **Cogolludo** as "an idol with deformed teeth." But the various numeraled names in this text, **Lahun Chan-nal**, **Vuc Chanal**, **Vucci Habnal**, (**Vuc Yabnal** three times in the rays of the wheel), together with **Sac Vacnal**, all ending in **-nal**, and all representing the countenance of the katun during its reign, together form a distinct problem for solution. There are a number of obscure numeraled glyphs, some of which certainly represent personages, so that we have another probable contact of numbers in the glyphs and mythology, of which such texts as this may help to a solution. — **Cit Bolon.** In the oldest usage God the Father was called **Dios Citbil**, the **-bil** being an honorific; later we get it used with, or replaced by, **Dios Yumbil**, **Dios Mehenbil**, God the Father, God the Son. On page 36 of the **Chumayel**, the son answers that he raises his prayers on the ninth and thirteenth days, **bolon ti ku, yetel oxlahun ti citbil**, "on the ninth to God, and on the thirteenth to **Citbil**." I can find no better interpretation than **Mediz Bolio's**, based on forms in **Pío Pérez**, and derived from the very archaic verb **ci**, to speak. This verb is quite distinct from **t'an**, meaning ordinary speech, and also word of command. **Citbil**, **Yumbil** and also **t'an** are all used in the Song of the Vinal, the context in each case agreeing with **Citbil** as the creative Word. **Cit bolon** we also find as **Citbolontun**, see the list in **Cogolludo**. In the next katun, **8 Ahau** (also assigned to **Lahun Chable**) we again find **Cit va**, associated with **Amayte Kavil**, as the countenance of the katun. — "Perchance silver the path of the milpa" does not at all satisfy me; but I can find no clearer rendering.

Lahun Chable: 8 Ahau. Here we get the form **Amayte Kavil**, which undoubtedly connects with the common and ancient term for God in the **Guatemalan** branches, **C'abovil**. There was much early controversy there as to whether to use this, as a word the **Indians** already understood as meaning the Supreme Being, or replace it by

Dios. And since all trace or memory of **C'abovil** or **Hunal-ku** had to disappear, Dios of course won, just as in Yucatan **Yumbil** replaced **Citbil**—and “the word was lost.” — **Tokol** means *sangrar*, to bleed, and the **vah** for bread is clear; the **hau** I am doubtful of. It may possibly be a survival of the old root **au** for milpa, or to plant, which seems safer than to cancel the final **u**, and get **ha**, water. But again, in the very evil katun 9 Ahau we find, **tokol ha, tokol u uvah katun**, which would go literally, “bled water, bled moon, the bread of the katun.” In our complete present ignorance of the metaphors, and the newness in our studies of these too-long neglected texts, we can only put off the time of our understanding. **Ti maix to he pahac unucul-t'an toon.**

Uxmal: 6 Ahau. For **oklistuba** (once spelled **oclistuba**) I can find no interpretation; **ok** is of course to cry, and **-tuba** the 3rd person reflexive; but the **lis** is blind, and since the word is used several times, with the same exact spelling, a forced guess is out of the question; it seems however to be of evil omen. — **Ox-tus-hen** can again be separated into “three, figment, deceit or invent, devise, and the ending **-hen**, 1st person preterit of **hal**, to become or happen. A use of the 1st person occurs again in the next katun, **yokol in-nal**, ? “crying for *my* maize-ears.” Or perhaps, “on top of my corn, my bread.” All of which is wholly blind in meaning yet.

Chich'en: 4 Ahau. “White thy garment, thy clothing.” I am inclined to read this as a mark of oppression, trouble, on the same lines as the above use of **sac** as a prefix of imperfection. **Chac**, red, is very common both in northern and southern Mayance as an intensive, ‘very’; also for power and might; **sac** for imperfection or weakness is not nearly so common, but this is probably the metaphor here. — Several words left in the Maya in the translation, I can do nothing with; one, the **yǵ'o**, is also doubtful in the ms., the **y** and the **ǵ** being joined as if a correction had been made, and look almost like **p**, **po**.

Mayapan: 2 Ahau. The place-names are confused all along in this 2 Ahau, as see the parallel table. — In the Chumayel version of this clause we get the form **sac-petay**, which causes Mediz Bolio to translate **oxmul-tun ģekil ċacpetay vinicil ca tali kaxan ucuch buluc ch'abtan kan yopol yk**: “three heaps of skulls will make a white circle to his body when he comes with his tied burden. Suffocating he will seize on his couch a breath of air.” His translation of the Chumayel is a work of great labor, and one calling for a great deal of credit; but he forces too many meanings, besides being hampered by his using only Yucatecan Maya without the help of the other branches, and also by his restriction to the isolated Chumayel spellings, which are shown by the present collation with the Kaua to be often at least doubtful—too doubtful to be final about. Yet also not to be corrected offhand to get a translation.

Kinchil Coba: 13 Ahau. Here **Yaxaal Chac**, the First-born Giant, is spoken of as Bearer of the Heavens. — The 5-day eclipse of the sun is most interesting; also the statement that **2 pic**, 16,000 is the burden of the katun; see **ca-kinchil** the same in 9 Ahau. Note also that the Chumayel text is here much longer than the Kaua, and yet preserves the archaic character; another evidence of the separate sources used by the two writers. — Note also that **Kinchil Coba** figures in the parallels as both personage and place-name.

Ichcaansihoo: 11 Ahau. **Ah-bolon-yocte tu-kin**; this I have rendered, “He of the nine strides in its time,” but with reservations; the enclitic ‘counter’ **te** is of

doubtful use in this connection. Nor can I follow Mediz Bolio's arrangement, which is contrary to the usual construction throughout. — **Vilnom che** is of course an error for **vilnom che**, often used. The use of the future in **-urus** in nearly every line of this text is noteworthy; the form means that which must be, is to happen. It is clearly stated as such by Coronel, **cimom**, *moriturus*, I am fated to die, am mortal; entirely distinct from the simple future. San Buenaventura follows Coronel, but Beltrán makes the mistake of reading it as a misprint for **cimon**, we die, and then declaring that there "is no future in **-om**." And then Tozzer, in the work he improperly calls "A Maya Grammar," of course repeats Beltrán. The form has died out in the modern Maya which Tozzer takes as standard, but is exceedingly common in the old texts, and in none more so, or more clearly than here. It is the essential form of fated prophecy. — **Ox-koch**: **koch** means a burden imposed, obligation, penalty, and is so distinct from **cuch**, what is simply carried, as **ucuch-haab**, **ucuch-katun**. **Oxkoch** would thus mean 'thrice obligated, penalized.' — In this katun we again find whiteness, imperfection, in the garments, the clothing, while the people are orphaned. — Quite a few variations occur in the 11 Ahau paragraph on Chumayel p. 13, together with still greater obscurity in the **ah-buluc-yocte** passage, which I have not ventured to translate. Mediz Bolio renders it that "the timbrels of 11-Ahau sound, and it begins to delay, and very joyously covers the sun with its veil, the sun which is in Sulim Chan"; this I cannot follow at all. — At the end Hoil here states definitely that 11 Ahau is the beginning of the count (of his new redaction), when the foreigners arrive.

9 Ahau. None of the archaic texts give a place for this katun, only stating that it is at **Vuc Yabnal**, **Vuccii Habnal**: see above. — Other points are covered *supra*.

Mayapan: 7 Ahau. Here we get **Ekchuah** the patron, well-known as god of the merchants, and in the Madrid Codex. — In this katun too we get the use of **nicte**, **nicteil**, flowers and roses as metaphor for the 'primrose path' of luxury, accompanied by excessive abuses, and insane speech through the whole world. The word here for abuses, **calpach**, has the same history as our 'rape'—forcible seizure, and then applied to the special cases; I have therefore rendered **p'entacech calpach** generally as 'excessive abuses.' — Later in the paragraph the character of the katun seems to change, and goodness comes in the people and in the rulers. — The words **Bolon g'acab**, **vah yal**, **yalix**, **yalix**, I cannot interpret in their present context.

Soğ'il: 5 Ahau. Also found as **Soğ'il**. — The words **p'issahom kauahom** I can find no satisfactory rendering for; on the wheel they are replaced by **puzhom kohom**, which would indicate times of drought. — The above **oxkoch**, **nicteil** and **calpach** are again given for this, the final katun of the Kaua Cycle. Then after another passage which I have left in the Maya, we foresee the coming of the new order, and better days. The ground is to be cleared for new milpas, and for the coming of another word, of command (**t'an**, not **cit**), specifically defined as being "called ordenanzas," a new régime; and then too the giving of **xuch vetet**, "as it is called." The **vetet** is very un-Maya in appearance, and especially after the use of the Spanish word for ordinances, looks Aztec. With all this we are told there is a 'new foundation'; Five Ahau will be again set off, and a new order begin.

To close these Scholia I must suggest that the student carefully weigh the variant translations given by Mediz Bolio, notwithstanding that I have had to differ with them frequently. His familiarity with present-day Yucatecan Maya is both his vantage and his handicap, in a very painstaking work.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF YUCATAN

Translated by ETHEL-JANE BUNTING

Gkinchahâu or **Hunabgkû**. These are the names of their chief god, who it is said married another chief one whom they also worshipped as a goddess, and to whom they attributed the invention of weaving, and of the cotton mantles they wore; her they called **Ixasâlûoh**.

Itzamná, the son of **Hunabkû**, the supreme deity. This same Itzamná seems to have been the one who invented the characters they use for writing, since the Indians gave the same name to their inventor. Cogolludo says that this is held as a certainty (page 196).

Ixgkanleôx. The name of a goddess who they say was the mother of the rest. Many other names besides this are given to her.

Ixchebeljax. An idol in the figure of a woman, inventress of painting and of weaving designs in the clothing they wore. She also is worshipped.

Ixchel. The idol of a great enchantress who is said, among other things, to have discovered medicine.

Sitbolontún was the god of healing among them.

Xokbitun was the god of song.

Ahkinxoók was the name of an Indian who, they say, was a great singer and musician, and was worshipped as the god of poetry. He was sometimes called **Pisliimtek**.

Gkulgkûlkân. The idol of an Indian who was a great captain among them, and very much worshipped.

Gkaagk ú pakat. This name means *vista de fuego*, view of the fire, from **gkaagk**, fire, and **pacat**, view. He is said to have carried a circle of fire as a shield.

Ahchuj gkaágk. An idol who took four captains to war, and was the god of battles.

Sakal Bâkâb, **Cáanâl Bakâb**, **Chakâl Bakâb** and **Egkel Bakâb**. Gods who were said to hold up the sky, which was stretched over them. The Indians say they were the gods of the Winds.

Chak. The god of Agriculture, of which it seems he was the discoverer; they relate that he was a giant.

Multún Tzek. According to the Indians he reigned in evil times, and his days were those of ill fortune.

Mam. This idol was a piece of wood dressed in the manner of a *dominquillo*, or effigy. Placed on a stand upon a mat, they offered him things to eat and other gifts, at a feast they called **üajejâb**; at the end of

this feast they removed the dress and threw the piece of wood away, without more reverence.

Téel cusam. Idol of an Indian said to have had shinbones like a swallow (swallow-legs).

Lahunchaán. An idol with very deformed teeth, which the name itself seems to indicate; for *lahun* means ten, and *chaan* separated, so that according to the genius of the language it may be interpreted as 'separated into ten parts,' or a thing of that description.

Ahtubtún. They say that he spit up precious stones, which is the meaning of the name.

Akat is a name that means all the gods whom the Indians believed to turn themselves into flowers.

Itzmat ûl (Itzamat ûl). A great idol, and very famous, to whom they built a temple near a hill in the town of Itzmal (now Izamal), and whose name *Itzamat ûl* means one who receives or has the grace and dew of the heavens. The Indians say that he was a great king, and lord of this earth; that he was obeyed as being the son of the gods; and when they asked him his name, or how they should call him, he answered only these words: *Itzen kaán, Itzen mujâl*, meaning, "I am the dew or substance of the sky, and the clouds." When he died they raised altars to him, and he was an oracle which they believed gave them answers. While he lived the towns consulted him concerning things happening in remote places, and he was accustomed to tell them the future. When they brought the dead to him, he brought them to life; and when they were sick, he made them well. In a word, he was a idol they venerated in the highest degree.

Gkab ûl. An idol whose name means "the working hand," and which was in a temple on another hill to the west of the preceding one. This idol was the figure of the Hand of *Itzamat ûl*, which they kept in his memory. To the temple where this hand was, they brought the dead and the sick; and they said that he brought them to life, or healed them. They offered him great alms and gifts, and visited him from many provinces, making pilgrimages to him.

Gkinich Gkâágkmô. God of pestilences. This idol was on a hill of the same name, because this god was there, and they turned to him in time of plagues. They said that in the middle of the day, before all those assembled, there came down a fire that consumed the sacrifices; which without doubt is the origin of his name. *Gkin* means sun, *ich* face, and *gkâágk* fire. After he had descended (as I say) to burn the sacrifices, the priest told those assembled what they should do in relation to the consultation had; although, according to the same Indians, they were at times deceived in the predictions.

Gkinchaháu Habán. God of cruelty, to whom those of Campeche sacrificed human victims.

Ahchun Kaan was worshipped by those of Tihoo, where now is Mérida, the capital of Yucatan.

Vaklomchaan was worshipped by the ancients at Tihoo.

Uh-hulané, or Uh-hulanéb, was worshipped by those of Cusamil (corrupted by the Spaniards to Cozumel).

Suhuj Gkâágk. An idol whose name means 'fire virgin.' She was one of the vestals in the nunneries they had, as a retreat for those who wished to enter. She was the daughter of a king, and to her were entrusted the maidens.

Gkugulkan was the same among them as Quetzalcohuatl among those of Cholula. I think that when Cogolludo and Torquemada speak of Gkugulkan (which they write Kukulkan) it is only an alteration of the Maya; for the word means 'plumed serpent,' according to Torquemada (Mon. Ind. vi, 24). We should not write it with *-ul*, but *-um*, for plumage in the Maya is *gkûgkûm*, and serpent *kan*, so that it should be *Gkûgkûmkán*. I also believe that my good friend has made another alteration, although from Mexican idioms. It seems to me that since it means 'plumed serpent,' it were better written *Quequetzalcoatl*, since plumage in Mexican is *quequetzalli*, and serpent is *coatl*. As to the *gk*, see the alphabet in this *cuaderno*.

ALPHABET OF THE MAYA LANGUAGE

as it should be, and not as it is written now-a-days.

The sounds in the Maya language can be reduced to 24, representing them as follows: a, be, bpe, æ, ke, gke, che, ðhe, dte, e, he, ije, le, me, ne, o, pe, se, te, u, ü (strong, we), xe, ʒe.

The 19 consonants be, bpe, æ, ke, gke, che, ðhe, dte, he, je, le, me, ne, pe, se, te, üé (we), xe, ʒe, form a simple direct articulation with the vowels a, e, i, o, u as follows:

Bâk, a stone; béh, quail; bix, a particle equal to Sp. *como*, 'as'; bôk, smell; bû, smoke.

Bpâk, tomato; bpéx, mean, petty; bpít, to leap upon something;¹ bpót, crest, tuft; bpûs, crooked.

ðâk, medicine; ðéb, cross-eyed; ðiik, brave; ðon, fusil, gun; ðunuún, *chupaflo*, a very beautiful little bird.²

Kab, honey; kééh, deer; kitám, hog, boar, peccary, tayassu;³ koók, deaf; kuúk, squirrel.

Gkââh, bitter; gkêx, change; gkiíx, thorn; gkopté, a tree known in the capital and elsewhere as the siricote;⁴ gkûx, gnaw.

Chachâk, red; chen, adverb, equal to Sp. *solo*, only; chiích, hard; chóoch, intestine; chuúk, coal.

châksí, to cut wood; chem, *lagaña*, soreness of eyes; chík, flea; chôm, zopilote, buzzard; chuhúk, sweet.

Dtân, speak; dtel, cock; ⁵ dtín, *ceñir*, to girdle; dtôx, distribute; dtuúl, rabbit.

Hâ, water; hebp, to tighten; hidt, to weave; hoóch, to scrape; hush, to grind.

Jâ, sapote; ⁶ jéel, egg; jîm, *tela*, cloth, fabric; joóm, pregnant; jûm, *señor*.

Lâk, platter; ⁷ lêch, trap; lidtîb, on tiptoe; lôx, a blow; luúm, earth.

Mâ, negative particle, no; méetêb, *rodaja*, a circular woven rest for jars; mis, cat; môts, root; much, a large toad.

Náach, adverb, far off; né, tail, the extremity animals have at the back; ni, nose; nom, partridge; nuxîb, old man.

Pagkâm, *nopal*, cactus; pech, garrapata, tick; pîm, thick, gross; pôx, the chirimoya, a fruit; ⁸ put, papaya, a fruit.

Sahák, timid, fearful; séen, cough; (sîcmuk); sîm, mucus, flegm; soo, bat; subp, blockade.

Taab, salt; tech, pronoun, thou; tikín, dry; tóogk, to bleed; tûgk, the cocoyol palm.⁹

Vâh, bread; veéch, the itch; viih, hunger; vô, a kind of frog, *zapo*; vukbpél, eight.

Xanáb, sandal; xebp, to pinch; xigk, wing; xooH, owl; ¹⁰ xuúch, to suck.

Tzâb, rattle; ¹¹ tsem, breast; tîmín, horse; tsoóts, hair; tûb, a rodent called by the Spanish-speaking folk in Yucatan *liebre*, hare; this is not right, as it is the agouti.¹²

I believe that these are all the Maya sounds, so that it should not have other characters.

NOTES

1. The verbs bpít and sîdt are synonymous, with the distinction that bpít means to leap over something with some impetus, and sîdt simply to jump. For example, of a bull that leaps the fence of the field of J. P.: leti le üâkxó, tu bpitah u subpil u kol jûm J. P.; and of a boy jumping, tun sîdt; it would be wrong to say the boy tun bpít.

2. This is a marvelous little bird, highly praised by those who have written about American matters. In Mexico it is called *huitzitzilin*, or by the Spaniards *chupamirto*. Elsewhere in America it is called *picaflor*, *tominejo*, *colibre* — humming-bird.

3. These are the names given in various countries. The Indians of Mexico call it *coyameatl*, and the Spaniards *javalí*, because of its likeness to that animal. This one has a gland in a cavity in the back with a fetid liquor which, if not cut out at once the animal is killed, infects the whole body; the first writers thought this gland was the animal's navel, as said among others by Acosta in his History of New Spain; but that is a manifest error, and intolerable in our time.

4. This tree is mentioned by Clavigero in his Ancient History of Mexico, among others notable for its wood; he calls it however *copte*, being ignorant of the proper spelling to show its pronunciation. It is equally valued for its leaves and its fruit. From the wood excellent guitars are made, the leaves being ribbed and rough are used for rubbing things, and the fruit makes a fine conserve.

5. It is to be noted that the Indians frequently put an *h* before such words as *dtel*, to note a difference in the meaning. Thus *chaksí*, to cut wood, *h-chaksí*, woodcutter; *kúch*, to carry, *h-kuch*, carrier. I will speak further on this, under the particular letters.

6. Clavigero also mentions this tree in his History, saying that it is called *chíctli* in Mexico. In Yucatan it is called *sicte*, and also *chá*, the *sicte* is but a corruption of *chictli*, just as our *jicama* is from the Maya *chiicám*, which the Mexicans in turn call *cázotl*, *chictzápotl* *quahuítl*.

7. Any lasso or trap is called by the Indians *lech*.

8. The Mexicans call this *matzápotl*; the mamey they call *tetzontzápotl*, the anona *quahtzápotl*, and the black sapote *tliltzápotl*.

9-12. (Notes missing, ms. ending unfinished in middle of page.)

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

1. All these names of deities are of course taken from Cogolludo; but our author's comments and spelling, with his accents, are interesting enough to warrant printing, especially since Cogolludo is very scarce and has not been translated. Some of his spellings are added here, for verification, where our writer has changed them: *Citbolontun*, *Multum Tzec*, *Vayeyab*, *Lahun Chaam*, *Vaclom Chaam*.

For references to *Cit Bolon* and *Lahun Chan*, see under 10 *Ahau* in the *Kaua* text, above. The *Mam* is of course the figure in the lower section of three year-bearer pages in the *Madrid Codex*, where these *Vayeyab* ceremonies are pictured.

2. This unknown author's phonetic system for the Maya is extremely acute, and as an effort to show closely the nature of the special *berida* or "struck" consonants, by the use only of combinations of ordinary printer's type, has actually not been equalled.

In English and other European languages we have the usual set of voiceless stops: **p**, **t**, **ts**, **ch**, hard **c**, to which all Mayance languages add a sixth, or **k**, uttered low in the throat, the **c** being made at the top of the throat. With these voiceless stops we also have a full set of voiced stops, made by tensing and vibrating the vocal cords while the consonant is being uttered: **b**, **d**, **dz**, **j**, hard **g**. In Sanskrit there is another

set (lacking with us) of aspirated stops, or the stop with a marked following aspirate. In Mayance both these latter sets are wanting, but are replaced by the "*beridas*." These are stops preceded, in every case, by a tensed or narrowed vowel, the peculiar explosive character of the 'struck stop' resulting from the discharged impetus of the preceding tensed muscles during the vowel utterance. They have been by some wrongly called *fortis*, which is an insufficient description, and does not reach the essence of the vocal phenomenon, that of the 'tensed explosive.' It is just this factor which the writer of this brief treatise has hit upon.

To utter the sonant stops **b, d, g** we must narrow or tense the throat muscles; if we thus put the muscles in position to say **b, d, g**, and instead say the **p, t, k**, releasing the tension so as not actually to 'voice' the stop-sound, we get the Maya, and general Mayance, result. This fact has been partially recognized in the current Yucatecan spelling of **dz** for the turned **ɟ**, our standard Mayance **ʒ** as in the town of Dzitás.

These special sounds were represented in three widely different ways in the three main divisions of Mayance-speaking territory. In Yucatan the early writers barred the **p** and **h**, added an **h** to the **t**, or else doubled **pp, tt**, and then turned the **c**, to meet the needs. In Guatemala the Parra characters were very skilfully built up out of the resources afforded by the **ç** with its cedilla, the **c** and hard **g**; they added the **ʒ** combination to their type-fonts, following the manuscripts, and also added a curve to the **h** to equal our present Spanish **j**. In Chiapas, away from knowledge of these others, the spelling was fixed by Ara in the 16th century by such combinations as **gc, ghc**, etc., showing recognition of the same factor as shown by the anonymous writer here.

The modern standard Mayance alphabet now provides a common and easily used system, changing the methods of the earlier written and manuscript texts in no way hard to follow, by taking the six stops **p, t, ʒ, ch, c, k**, and adding an apostrophe to each, to denote the 'halted consonant,' graphically. This use of the apostrophe is in vogue elsewhere, was adopted by Stoll in his works, and will be the standard in all Maya Society publications. In the present reprint we have of course retained the writer's exact orthography and accentuation.

3. **Gkopte**: this is not found in Pío Pérez, but is in the Motul, as **koopte**.
4. **Jim** for cloth does not appear either in Pérez or Motul.
5. **Pagkam**, cactus; not in Pérez, but in Motul as **pakam**, "*tunes*, in whose leaves the *coccus* or cochineal grows."

TABLE FOR VERIFYING MAYA DATES

The following tables were prepared for my own use a number of years ago, and have proved so time and error saving that they are here printed for the use of others.

While a day **Ahau** occurs once in each vinal, or every 20 days, a day 4 **Ahau** occurs only once in each **ʒolkin**, on the passage of 260 days. Next, since a day **Ahau** can only fall on the 3rd, 8th, 13th or 18th day of any vinal, it will only appear in 73 positions during the 365-day **haab**, or year; and 4 **Ahau** again, will therefore recur just 73 times during the

52-year cycle, one of these 73 times being on 4 Ahau 8 Cumhu, and the other 72 times on other vinal dates.

As a result of this, the date 4 Ahau 8 Cumhu only recurs 23 times in the whole course of baktuns 8, 9 and 10, or the approximately 1200 years which compass practically all our historical dates.

Table A now gives the list of these 23 positions of 4 Ahau 8 Cumhu. Table B gives the 73 positions of 4 Ahau within each of these twenty-three 52-year cycles. The 52-year cycle is expressed in Maya terms as 2.12-13-0; the *tolkin* as 13-0. Table A was constructed by successive additions of 2.12-13-0, beginning with 8.0.16-1-0 (the 61st occurrence within the *pictun* of 8000 tuns); table B by the successive additions of 13-0, from zero up to 2.12-13-0.

Table C gives the vinals in order, numbered; table D the numbers of the day Ahau, vinal by vinal, from 4 Ahau on; table E counts the days from Imix to Ahau. To use the tables, therefore, do thus:

Given that we have a date in the Long Count, but lack the day and vinal attached, say: 9.16.12-5-17. Subtract first the closest date in Table A, or 9.15.1-8-0, which leaves 1.10-15-17 (or less than a calendar-round of 52 years). From this remainder now subtract the closest date in Table B, or 1.10-6-0, 4 Ahau 18 Pax. The remainder must be less than 260 days, and is 9-17, so that we have only to count forward 9 vinals, 17 days to get the desired vinal and day. Pax being the 16th vinal, add 9 (less 5 days for intervening Vayeb), gives us the 13th day of Yaxkin (the 7th vinal). Add 17 days more, and we reach the 10th of the next vinal, 10 Mol, just 9-17 after 18 Pax.

Table D shows Caban as the 17th day after Ahau.

Table E shows that 9 vinals after 4 Ahau we reach 2 Ahau; $2 + 17 - 13 = 6$; the date sought is 6 Caban, 10 Mol, the date in the Maya Society design. Since the highest number attached to any day name is 13, any number exceeding that must drop down 13.

In practical use only the tables A and B will be needed, since the two subtractions made at first will bring us within less than a *tolkin* of our date, and the rest is a simple piece of mental calculation. The constant worker in Maya dates will soon know the numbers of the 18 vinals in the table as we know those of our months; also the positions of the days in the vinal, from Imix to Ahau. He will soon also carry in mind that five vinals after 4 Ahau brings him to 13 Ahau, eight vinals to 8 Ahau, etc. For the two initial subtractions he had better use the tables each time.

These tables have also been printed separately on cardboard, and a cardboard copy will be sent to any member of the Maya Society who desires one.

Table A—4 Ahau 8 Cumhu dates in baktuns 8, 9, 10.

0	0. 0. 0-0-0	68	8.19. 5-2-0	76	10. 0. 6-16-0
61	8. 0.16-1-0	69	9. 1.17-15-0	77	10. 2.19-11-0
62	8. 3. 8-14-0	70	9. 4.10-10-0	78	10. 5.12-6-6
63	8. 6. 1-9-0	71	9. 7. 3-5-0	79	10. 8. 5-1-0
64	8. 8.14-4-0	72	9. 9.16-0-0	80	10.10.17-14-0
65	8.11. 6-17-0	73	9.12. 8-13-0	81	10.13.10-9-0
66	8.13.19-12-0	74	9.15. 1-8-0	82	10.16. 3-4-0
67	8.16.12-7-0	75	9.17.14-3-0	83	10.18.15-17-0

Table B—the 73 4 Ahaus in each Calendar Round.

0. 0-0-0	8 Cumhu	0.18-1-0	18 Kankin	1.16-2-0	8 Sac
0. 0-13-0	3 Mac	0.18-14-0	13 Ch'en	1.16-15-0	3 Xul
0. 1-8-0	18 Yaxkin	0.19-9-0	8 Sotz	1.17-10-0	3 Yayeb
0. 2-3-0	13 Uo	1. 0-4-0	8 Kayab	1.18-5-0	18 Mac
0. 2-16-0	13 Moan	1. 0-17-0	3 Ceh	1.19-0-0	13 Mol
0. 3-11-0	8 Yax	1. 1-12-0	18 Xul	1.19-13-0	8 Sip
0. 4-6-0	3 Tzec	1. 2-7-0	13 Pop	2. 0-8-0	8 Pax
0. 5-1-0	3 Cumhu	1. 3-2-0	13 Kankin	2. 1-3-0	3 Sac
0. 5-14-0	18 Ceh	1. 3-15-0	8 Ch'en	2. 1-16-0	18 Tzec
0. 6-9-0	13 Yaxkin	1. 4-10-0	3 Sotz	2. 2-11-0	18 Cumhu
0. 7-4-0	8 Uo	1. 5-5-0	3 Kayab	2. 3-6-0	13 Mac
0. 7-17-0	8 Moan	1. 6-0-0	18 Sac	2. 4-1-0	8 Mol
0. 8-12-0	3 Yax	1. 6-13-0	13 Xul	2. 4-14-0	3 Sip
0. 9-7-0	18 Sotz	1. 7-8-0	8 Pop	2. 5-9-0	3 Pax
0.10-2-0	18 Kayab	1. 8-3-0	8 Kankin	2. 6-4-0	18 Yax
0.10-15-0	13 Ceh	1. 8-16-0	3 Ch'en	2. 6-17-0	13 Tzec
0.11-10-0	8 Yaxkin	1. 9-11-0	18 Sip	2. 7-12-0	13 Cumhu
0.12-5-0	3 Uo	1.10-6-0	18 Pax	2. 8-7-0	8 Mac
0.13-0-0	3 Moan	1.11-1-0	13 Sac	2. 9-2-0	3 Mol
0.13-13-0	18 Ch'en	1.11-14-0	8 Xul	2. 9-15-0	18 Uo
0.14-8-0	13 Sotz	1.12-9-0	3 Pop	2.10-10-0	18 Moan
0.15-3-0	13 Kayab	1.13-4-0	3 Kankin	2.11-5-0	13 Yax
0.15-16-0	8 Ceh	1.13-17-0	18 Mol	2.12-0-0	8 Tzec
0.16-11-0	3 Yaxkin	1.14-12-0	13 Sip	2.12-13-0	8 Cumhu
0.17-6-0	18 Pop	1.15-7-0	13 Pax		

Table C—the Vinals in order, numbered.

1 Pop	4 Sotz	7 Yaxkin	10 Yax	13 Mac	16 Pax
2 Uo	5 Tzec	8 Mol	11 Sac	14 Kankin	17 Kayab
3 Sip	6 Xul	9 Ch'en	12 Ceh	15 Moan	18 Cumhu



Table D—the numbers of Ahau, vinal by vinal, from 4 Ahau on.

Vinals, counted:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Ahau numbers:	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10

Table E—the days from Imix to Ahau, numbered.

1 Imix	5 Chicchan	9 Muluc	13 Ben	17 Caban
2 Ik	6 Cimi	10 Oc	14 Ix	18 E'g'nab
3 Akbal	7 Manik	11 Chuen	15 Men	19 Cauac
4 Kan	8 Lamat	12 Eb	16 Cib	20 Ahau

A LANQUIN KEKCHI CALENDAR

This manuscript is one I have had for over fifteen years; its chief value lies of course in the list of Vinal names, which are complete save for those corresponding to Pop and Soʔ; it even includes the five 'nameless days,' holob cutan, mahi yccaba. All the vinals fall just two days before the days given by Landa for the Maya vinals. Uo and Zip, in Maya, are represented by Icat, Chaccat. The glyphs for each have a cross as main element, with the known signs for black and red,   as superfixes. In Kekchí the chac, at least, translates the glyph-sign, since chac means red. Black in Kekchí is k'ek', though in Maya it is ek, and in Choltí ic, which probably checks the form Icat, since the two superfixes are unmistakably 'black' and 'red.' The vinal Ceh in Maya, made up of a cauac-sign with 'red' as superfix, is again translated in the present calendar as simply 'Red,' Chac, exactly as the two preceding vinals are rendered, in both Maya and Kekchí, as Green, White, corresponding to their superfixes. The present calendar is therefore the first native source to turn up since Landa, with actual translations of glyph-forms.

Eight of the Kekchí vinal names differ wholly from the Maya; the rest are substantially the same. But unfortunately our scanty Kekchí vocabulary material does not afford us safe renderings of any.

The manuscript has a date, 1804, which is probably its time. It gives the whole 365 days in order, prefixing the usual church dominical letters, A b c d e f g throughout, starting with Jan. 1, which is thus shown to be Sunday in the year of the calendar. Most of the days have no entries, and these are omitted in the printed text below; the rest are all given as they stand.

We have no surviving (nor even known lost) early Kekchí dictionary, so that our difficulties in building up the vocabulary are greater than in any other Mayance branch save the Mam. I have already put together a Kekchí vocabulary from the seven or eight more or less modern ones I have, expecting to add to it in time from the various texts, and with the help of comparative studies, especially in the Pokom branches, of which my dictionary material (now all put together) is quite full. But for the present, and with the very uncertain spelling of many of the words in this calendar, I only dare essay a few renderings.

The word raubal means, 'must be planted,' and is used very many times, with maize, beans, bananas, camotes, cacao, cacao pataxte (balam), yuca, ramon and cotton. The seasonal occurrence of these plantings is worthy of attention. It should be noted that cotton is to be planted in that period, from June 10 to Nov. 1, when maize is not. I cannot under-

stand why so many days should be assigned to planting of one thing, especially the maize and cotton; some one familiar with the customs of that countryside will have to give enlightenment here.

Good days, fine days, *usil cutanc*, *chabil cutanc* are often noted; bad ones apparently not at all. The few birthday prognostications are interesting: Jan. 2, an orator is born hereon; Jan. 23, a good man; Feb. 3, a hunter (? — the *zicc men* is uncertain); Feb. 5, a leading man, *benal*, first; Mar. 3 a liar is born, *ah-yicti*.

On Jan. 8, we are told that the bees should be sheltered, and the honey taken out on Mar. 10; a bird seems to be due the master on Jan. 27; the noise of the fire to be heard on Mar. 15 and 17, and several times thereafter; Mar. 22 apparently rain, *hab*; June 8, *recazinquil ixim maco us*, can be rendered as "the moving of the maize, it is not good," but I am ignorant of the implied reference. On June 29 it seems that one should carry a blowpipe, and on July 3 something to be captured. *Canti* is snake, but I can find no interpretation for the full entry on Jan. 11 and 17.

The following single words, mostly of plants, are clear: *ixim*, maize; *quenc*, beans; *tul*, bananas; *is*, camote, sweet potato; *ttzin*, yuca; *ox*, ramon; *balam*, the cacao pataxte; *nok*, cotton; *zac-que*, sun or heat.

Finally: the Kekchí writers never adopted any of the Parra characters except the *tresillo*, the doubled hard *cc*; in the mss. this is generally written in *tresillo* form, one *c* above the other; in print it is changed to *cc*. But, the use was wholly irregular, in Kekchí as also in the Choltí; it is used or not without regularity or care. We can see that it was felt to be different, since it is quite usually employed where the *tresillo* is proper; but in itself it gives no guide. We even find the *tresillo* used in some manuscripts as hard *C* in Spanish words. That the Kekchí had the full complement of the four hard sounds: *c c' k k'* is clear from Stoll's work, even if not otherwise; but no trace appears in our Kekchí texts of more than the *c* and double *cc*, as stated. In many cases the spelling could be standardized with safety, but since we cannot as yet carry this through, it is better to give the words as found, including the obvious errors in the Spanish.

In the next issue of the Quarterly we shall give a Pokonchí list of both day and month names, agreeing in part with either Maya or Kekchí, but in part differing from either.

Enero ti 31 días.

- 1 *chabil cutanc*.
- 2 *ahzerec naio lae chiza*
- 5 *uzil cutanc: ux bin*
- 6 *rech tzic. vonen*

- 7 *belebal. ccanti: chan hix*
- 8 *reh ylol cab: vuc chab*
- 10 *vaz viaz. nab — — ✱ yax*
- 11 *raubal yxim: Bolon nal chan*
- 13 ✱ *chabil cutane: oxlahu chac chan*

- 14 ✱ chabil cutan. oxlahu chac chan
- 17 belebal canti. chan hix
- 20 raubal yxim. S Sabastian martir
- 23 uzil vine naiolae chiza
- 24 raubal yxim: Sn tumoteo obispo
- 27 vech Ahval tzie marzo 27 nae qui moy
yrul h zac queq 1804 a
- 29 reh rilbal
- 30 chan itznab - - - ✱ zac

Febrero tine 28 dias

- 2 raubal quene: candelaria
- 3 zice men naiolae chiza
- 4 uzil cutane
- 5 benal vine naiolae chiza
- 6 uzil cutane
- 9 uzil cutane
- 14 raubal cacau balam - S balentin
- 16 reh tzic
- 18 ✱ chac
- 20 raubal yxim
- 25 uzil cutane

Marzo tiene 31 dias

- 1 uzil cutane Sn Albino obispo
- 2 Sn Palo m^r
- 3 Ah yic ti naiolae chiza
- 7 Belebal canti Sto thomas Degino dr
- 8 raubal yxim. San de dios
- 10 yziubal cab
- 11 chabil cutane - - - ✱ chantemat
- 12 rau ixim
- 15 yiabal eae
- 17 vyiaba eae
- 22 ynaeleb hab
- 24 marzo. 28 naquimoy saques
- 31 - - - ✱ V rozinu

Abril tiene 30 dias

- 6 raul yxim
- 17 yiabal eae
- 18 raubal xim
- 20 - - - ✱ Muhan
- 25 rau yxim San Marcos
- 29 raubal yxim San Pedro Martir

Mayo tiene 31 dias

- 1 Zae que yza
- 3 raubal yxim Santa Cruz

- 7 aubal yxim corona dni
- 8 raubal yxim ccau balam Sn Miguel
- 10 yiabal eae - - - ✱ ✱ Ah qui ccu
- 14 rabal yxim
- 15 raubal y San idro labardor
- 19 raubal yxim
- 20 raubal yxim
- 30 - - ✱ ccanazi

Junio tiene 30 dias

- 1 raubal yxim cacau balam ttzin ox ys
- 8 reezinquil ixim maco us
- 9 raubal ixim ttzin ox is
- 13 San Antonio rauicbal ixim
- 14 raubal yxim
- 16 San Martialis
- 19 - - - ✱ olh
- 24 San Juan bautista
- 29 ycocbal che Pub Sn Pedro
- 30 ttzin ox is

Julio tiene 31 dias

- 2 Vili tac - n
- 3 re zinquil Poc che simah
- 9 holob'cutan MAHI yccaba ✱
- 17 Raubal ccacau balam S^a Alezo
[eltruim]
- 24 San Cristina Virgen
- 25 Santiago apostol
- 26 Sñora S^a tana
- 28 S^a ✱
- 30 ccau balam

Agosto 31 dias

- 3 ✱ i cat
- 4 S^a go confessor
- 5 San Maria Viniebes
- 6. raubal noe cacau balam S^a Salvador
- 15 tt raubal noe la Asunsion D-ra
- 16 SS. roque y Jasinto.
- 20 San bernardino. bad
- 23 ✱ chaccat
- 25 raubal noe
- 28 raubal noe A San Agustin
- 30 raubal noe

Septiembre 30 dias

- 8 raubal noe la natiidad
- 9 raubal noe
- 10 San Nicolas colentino

- 14 raubal noë Exalt de la S^{ta} cruz
 21 raubal noë San mateo Apostol
 22 raubal Sⁿ muricio aruin naalc ui bele
 cutanc
 23 raubal tul stecc cla hacunoe
 28 raubal noë
 29 raubal noë San miguel Arcangel

Octubre 31 dias

- 1 raubal noë San regio obispo
 2 ✕ cazeu
 4 San fransisco de asis
 9 Vusil cutane
 10 raubal noë San Francoborja
 15 raubal noë Santa thereza
 18 raubal noë San Lucas euangelista
 22 raubal noc ✕ chichin Santa Ma Salome
 23 rau noë San Pedro pasqual
 24 rau noë Sⁿ rafael arcangel
 25 rau noë gavino Martir

Novibre 30 dias

- 1 raubel ixim todos lo santos

- 9 raubal noë San teodoro mv
 11 raubal noë yxim San martin ✕
 ianguca
 19 raubal noë Santa ysabel
 21 rau noë ixim La presentacion
 22 raubal noë yxim Santa Secesilya
 23 raubal noë ixim San Clemente
 25 raubal noë ixim San catarina
 30 raubal yxim San Andres Apostol

Diziembre 31 dias

- 1 raubal yxim ✕ mol
 6 San Nicolas obispo confessor
 7 San nanbrocio obispo doctor
 8 ✕ ✕ La puricima concepcion de
 nuestra ceñora Zurada
 9 por patrona
 13 raubal yxim S^{ta} lucia Virgen
 14 chabil cutane
 21 raubal yxim San tho Thomas Apostol
 ✕ zihora
 27 raubal yxim San Juan euangelista

GLYPH STUDIES

As stated in my Outline Glyph Dictionary, the main purpose of that work was to provide the tabulated arrangements and references, so as to stimulate and help the identification of more and more glyphs, whether by myself or others. Practically every advance I made in the glyph-reading was an immediate incident of the direct physical work of arranging the glyphs and the attached concordance. Quite a number of most inviting 'leads' showed up, the farther along I got, which I was perforce obliged to pass with little or no further work or note, beyond the mere putting the type-forms side by side, for whomever to see the connections that might. Nor have I had time since to follow these up, very suggestive as some are. In time I shall.

Meanwhile, however, checks keep coming up, which I plan to put as they come, into these pages. And, as I quite expected, these have begun to come while working over my accumulated comparative vocabularies and syntax material in the different Mayance tongues. I do not consider it possible to make far advances without a deep and thorough knowledge of all these branch languages—words, forms and methods; and I think it

absurd that anyone should ever have thought it possible to get in and behind what was the old Maya culture, without such study and knowledge. And this does not mean the gathering of scattered brief word-lists, from Indians met for a day or two; who have besides lost by the very incidents of their present-day life, all knowledge of what their language was in its greatness. As well ask an illiterate, or unread backwoodsman of today to explain a text of Chaucer, or to etymologize a corrupted place-name,—or any man one meets, for that matter.

One of my most gratifying finds while the Glyph Dictionary was going through the press, was that of the actual presence of the Cauac sign, with its own meaning, as part of the 'thunderbolt glyph.' (See page 51) In the Introduction, page xi, I then wrote that I did not know how the priest-writer actually called the glyph; but since then that too has been answered. About 1600 fray Dionisio de Zúñiga wrote a very large Pokonchí Dictionary, of which fragments remain, now in the Pennsylvania University Museum. Zúñiga also wrote other Pokonchí manuscripts, which are in my collection. His work was later used by another delightful old writer, fray Pedro Morán (I am sure he was Irish), to change the Pokonchí forms or words to the Pokomán spoken near Lake Amatitlán. I long ago succeeded in getting full photographs of all the Morán manuscripts, and have only lately finished transcribing them in their entirety, together with the Zúñiga. And in them I find (since the Glyph Dictionary has come off the press) the following.

The usual name for 'flame' is rak' k'ak', tongue of the fire. We are now told, by both Zúñiga and Morán, that *cahok* means thunder, and also that rak' cahok means the thunderbolt, "*lengua del trueno*," the tongue of the thunderstorm, the Cauac. And still more important, we are further told that the *yerba llanten*, the plantain, is called "*rak' t̃i: quiere decir la lengua del trueno, su lengua de perro*," the tongue of the thunderstorm, the tongue of the dog.

Of course others before, Seler among them, have spoken of the dog as the fire-bearing thunderbolt animal; and also others have taken the 'flares' as representing flames. If the reader will now turn to the Glyph Dictionary, page 51, or to Dres. page 36 (Zolkin 55-g), he will see this long-tongued dog, flames held in paws and tail, hanging from the sky-band, with glyph 19.3.1 in the text above, made up of the normal cauac-sign, the flames, and the club affix. The added note in the Pokom dictionaries that rak' t̃i is not only 'dog's tongue,' but is also used for the thunderbolt, equally with the specific rak' cahok, of course completes the whole evidence, mythological as well as linguistic.



THE IXTLAN AND MEIXUEIRO CODICES

By ETHEL-JANE BUNTING

These two codices are of the Lienzo type, having been made on cloth, several yards square; they are in fact *mapas históricas*, as will be seen, and deal with events in

mon to the Zapotec type. As the central motif in each we have a temple resting on a plumed serpent; within the temple sit figures, with others placed outside, all with name-pictographs attached, in the usual Aztec fashion. Around the outside of each codex is a circumvallation wall of stones, to which lead nine roads which start from the center,



the fifty years immediately following the Conquest. They have been in the Gates collection for some twenty years, and were bought then as being Zapotec, as their style also indicates. They of course use the Aztec pictographs, as is common in other Oaxacan codices.

The two codices are of different size, but clearly refer in the main to the same locality and the same historical events. Each is colored in the slight degree com-

and pass outside the walls. Across one end or side runs a river, just within the wall, and passing out at each side. This river branches as it crosses one road, on the Ixtlán codex; on the Meixueiro it does not have this branch.

Closely placed around the four sides are places with their attached signs, for the most part inside the walls. There are some

eighty of these place-pictographs, and at a very considerable number we find the record of battles or other events, with dates. A few places have dates attached, but without an event shown. On neither of the two codices are there any words written with European letters, save that at the lower left corner of the Ixtlán, outside the wall, are four names so given. After disappointingly fruitless efforts to work out these names either through place-lists, or the Cordova 1578 Zapotec Dictionary or the 1568 Hernández Miztec, two of the four were by the good help of Prof. Cornyn of the Universidad de México identified as Zapoteco del Valle.

This was especially grateful, since (although it was possible to read a very considerable number of the pictographs, and translate them into their Aztec equivalents) every effort to find more than one or two of the commoner names in any place-name lists, ended in disappointment. The region in question is evidently mountainous, as shown by the large number of *tepetl* signs; and yet, except for the occurrence of such general and common names as Cohuatepec, Chiltepec, nowhere either in Oaxaca or Central Mexico could I find known towns to fit. A conclusion to be drawn from this would be, that the district is not a large one, and that instead of being towns the many places are more likely ranchos or at best hamlets, tributary to the central temple or palace. The fact of the surrounding circumvallation would fit in with this.

Nevertheless, very definite battles are shown at different points, between Indians (none of the four mounted Spaniards is in a battle-scene); and there are enough other events of apparent importance indicated, to make the study of the two *Mapas* a most attractive problem. One of the verified Zapotec names is here quite interesting. The pictograph shows a hen on her nest, with the date 1531 on Ixtlán, and 1543 on Meixueiro; and with the written name **Rohaz**, identified for me by Prof. Cornyn as coming from *rozacha*, to raise domesticated hens. The place is close to a roadside, outside the wall, and beyond the river, and it is being attacked by a warrior called Three Wind, 3 Ehec atl. Incidentally, of the four places with written Zapotec names, two are entirely absent on the Meixueiro codex.

The workmanship of the two, the Ixtlán and Meixueiro, varies greatly. The latter seems the work of a very careful draftsman; every line meets every other, and all the detail is worked out. On the Ixtlán the work is often vague, and the lines trail off, giving an impression of hurriedness.

All events on the two codices have attached dates, and these dates vary (as between the two codices) greatly. The variance is however just that frequently found in other glyph texts (such as the page in the Maya Xiu Chronicles), namely: the day signs agree, but the year-numbers vary.

This is common everywhere; great events or battles get attached to the days of their happening, which become fixed by recurrent anniversary celebrations, while the less important year is forgotten, or given wrong.

The earliest date shown is 3 *Calli*, attached to a temple wherein sits a priest with a serpent-head sign; this date corresponds to 1521 (although it might be even 1469, 52 years earlier). The latest date is also a native one, 1570. On each codex four Spaniards, on horseback, are being received by some person, name shown, and date entered. Taking the Meixueiro dates, these correspond to 1552, 1554, 1556 and 1564. No weapons are shown, neither is there any Cross shown anywhere. Three of the Spaniards carry staffs, and are received by Indians, each of whom is called on the Ixtlan 3 *Ehecatl*; and this name is given on the Meixueiro as 1 *Ehecatl*.

While the character of the text and variations show unmistakably an identical subject-matter behind, it is important to note finally, that neither can be regarded as copied from the other. Not only is this shown by the presence in each of elements lacking in the other, but also in the treatment of the different figures, and especially in the manner of writing the numerals, and the arrangement of their component dots. Another noteworthy fact is that the two codices are oriented differently, in the fact that in the Ixtlan the four Spaniards appear to the left of the central palace or temple, and the river at the bottom; whereas in the Meixueiro the whole general layout is given a quarter turn. The date 6 *Tochtli* is attached to the central temple on the Ixtlán, while the Meixueiro shows no date, but many more named personages connected with it. The date 1570 is found near the most congested region, and one with a number of battles, apparently in the same direction as that from which the Spaniards are entering. The illustration above is from the Meixueiro.

One date should perhaps prove valuable later in working out the whole story, since it records an important battle on both the Meixueiro and the Ixtlán, and also dates the place called *Tlatzalacalpan* on the Codex Abraham Castellanos; that date is 1546. With more time later, I am hoping to work out the stories more completely.

BOOK REVIEWS

J. Eric Thompson, *Archaeology of the Cayo District*; Field Museum, 1931.

This volume came to hand just two days after I had finished the *Kaua Thirteen Ahaus* for the first article in the QUARTERLY. Archaeological field and museum work lie to one side of the scope laid down for the coming Maya Society Series, and this periodical; but it is a pleasure to handle a report that is well restrained in its assertions, at the same time as it records such excellent hard work and pains in the field, further justified by the results. The expedition clearly did well.

But Dr. Thompson also adds an Appendix that is quite markedly within our field of study, in his discussing the origin of the Vinal, and the 260-day "Almanac," as he calls it. Coming to hand immediately after finishing writing our leading article, it set me first to re-verify the *tolkin* and vinal data, and then to go in detail through the Roys translation of the Chumayel story of the "Birth of the Vinal." This latter is one of the finest pieces I remember ever having seen in any Maya work, and has called for a full revision here, and translation.

Thompson says, quoting Roys: "We find *u-*tol*an kin*, 'the putting in order of the days,' but this apparently refers to their creation." It is just here that the whole difficulty lies, which has helped Thompson both to object to the term *tolkin* as 'unsatisfactory,' and even to suggest that the term Vinal itself, "should probably not be employed for the twenty-day month"; making a distinction we find it hard to follow, between the 'twenty-day period,' and the 'month of twenty days.'

The Roys article in the *Anthropologist* for 1920 is entitled "A Maya Account of the Creation," after which the word 'created' or 'creation' is used twenty times in the translation, as rendering seven distinct Maya words. This accentuation of the word 'creation,' which has acquired a wholly different value among Western people, as a result of Christian dogma and the general unphilosophic bent of the West, then must have led Roys to saying in his introduction that "Christian influence has affected the form of the following account to some extent." For the only 'Christian influence' I can see is in Roys' own translation, and especially in this repeated use of a word which with us always suggests creation out of nothing. But *ex nihilo nihil fit* was as basic a truth to the ancient Maya *yax-ahmiaz* (literally first scientist, or learned man—Pío Pérez' *científico*) as to the pre-Christian philosophers and modern men of science.

The whole account is worth including here as a complement to our first article: First the Maya text, carefully revised, and then a translation in which I have made every possible use of all the authorities to run down

the exact evaluation of each Maya term, as well as noting *çamçamal*, step by step, the Roys and Mediz Bolio renderings. This "Birth of the Vinal" is worth all the labor that can be put on it.

In the Maya text we have the following seven words, all rendered alike by Roys, as 'created' or 'creation.' *Mentah*, to make, fabricate, as by an artisan; the Maya *ah-men* is the skilled one; *çih*, to be born, come into being; its factitive, *çihçah*, to bring into existence, make be born, and correctly represented by 'create,' provided we do not read in a concept which the Maya did not, of creation from nothing; *ahal-cab*, dawn, awakening of the earth, something utterly distinct from *creation*; *tumtab*, test, try out (used for the testing, proving, of Metnal, the underworld); *pat*, to form, mold, as the potter (the Creator in the Quiché-Pokonchi cosmogony was *Tzacol Bitol*, the Maker, the Potter); *hok*, to come forth, *salirse*, used of the coming forth of the Word; *ca hok u-t'an, ti minaan t'an ti* does not say that God created the Word, but that the Word came forth, when no word was.

Another instance of the work by the Potter was overlooked by Roys when he misread the facsimile text under 11 Akbal as *yoksah*, he raised, instead of *yaksah*, he moistened. There is also here a case of the word-play on the day-names, *Ak(b)al, y-aksah*, making the passage read: He took water, and moistened earth, and molded, and became man. (This rendering, became man, is somewhat strange, but *vinic-hi* is the exact 3rd person preterit of *vinic-hal*, to become man, and so used later for Christ, not by act of an outside power; neuter and not active; became, not was made). These etymological details are necessary that the reader may carry through the text and translation following.

THE BIRTH OF THE VINAL

Bay *ğolci yax-ahmiağ Merchise, yax-ahbovat Napuctun*, sacerdote, *yax-ahkin. Lay kay uchci u-çihil vinal, ti ma to ahac-cab cuchí-e. Ca hop'i uximbal tuba, tu-hunal.*

Ca *yalah uchich, ca yalah uğ'ena, ca yalah umim, ca yalah umuu: Bal bin c-alab, ca bin c-ilab vinic ti be? Cu-t'anob tamuk uximbalob, cuchí-e; minan vinic cuchí.*

Ca *tun kuchiob te ti likin-e; ca hop'i yalícob: Mac ti mani vay lae? He yocob lae. P'is tavoc-i, ci bin u-t'an u-Colel-cab. Ca bin up'isah yoc ca-yumil ti Dios Citbil.*¹ *Lay uchun yalci: Xoc lah-cab;* ² *oc lae; lahca oc.*

*Lay ğolan çihci tumen oxlahun oc; uchci unuptanba yoc. Likci-ob te ti likin-e, ca yalah ukaba, ti minan ukaba kin cuchí-e. Ximbalnahci y uchiich y uğ'ena y umim y umuu. Çi*³ *vinal, çihci kin ukaba, çihci caan y luum, eb-haa,*⁴ *luum, tunich y che; çihci ubal-kaknab y luum.*

Hun Chuen, uhokçici-uba tu-kuil, umentci caan y luum.

Ca Eb, umentci yax eb, emci likul tanyol caan, tanyol haa; minan luum y tunich y che.

Ox Ben,⁵ umentci tulacal bal, hibahun bal, ubal-caanob y ubal-kaknab y ubal-luum.

Can Ix, uchci unixpahal caan y luum.

Ho Men, uchci umeyah tulacal.

Vac Cib, uchci umentci yax-cib; uchci uçasilhal, ti minan kin y u.

Vuc⁶ Caban, yax-çihci cab, ti minan toon cuchi.

Vaxac Eḡ'nab, eḡ'lahci ukab y yoc, ca uch'ich'aah yokol-luum.

Bolon Cauac, yax-tumtabci Metnal.

Lahun Ahau, uchci ubinob ulobil-vinicob ti metnal, tumen Dios Citbil ma chicanac cuchi-e.

Buluc Ymix,⁷ uchci upatic tunich y che; lay umentah ychil kin.

Lahcabil Yk, uchci uçiḡçic yk; lay uchun ukabatic yk, tumen minan cimil ychil lae.

Oxlahun Akbal,⁸ uchci uch'aic haa, ca yaksah luum, ca upatah, ca vinic-hi.

Hunnil Kan, uyax-mentci ulep'el-yol tumenel ulobil uçiḡçah.

Ca Chicchan, uchci uchictahal ulobil hibah yilah ychil uvich cah-e.

Ox Cimil, utusci cimil, uchci utusci yax-cimil ca-yumil ti Dios.

Ho Lamat, lay utusci vuc lam⁹ chac-haal kaknab.

Vac Muluc, uchci umucchahal kopob tulacal, ti ma to ahac-cab-e.

Lay uchci yocol utust'anil ca-yumil ti Dios tulacal, ti minan tun t'an ti caan, ti minan tunich y che cuchi. Ca tun binob utumtubaob, ca yalah tun bay la:

Oxlahun tuc::: Vuc tuc Hun. Lay yalah, ca hok ut'an ti minan t'an ti. Ca katab uchun tumen Yax-Ahau Kin. Maix he pahac unucul-t'an tiob, uchebal ut'anic-ubaob-e. Ca binob tanyol caan, ca umachaah ukab tubatanbaob-e. Ca tun valah tan-chumuc peten, heklayob lae, heklaob-i, ah-toocob cantulob lae:

Can Chicchan	⊙	Ah-toc	Canil Oc	⊙	Ah-toc
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Ca Men	⊙	Ah-toc	Can Ahau	⊙	Ah-toc
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Lay ahaub, cantulob lae.

Vaxac Muluc. Bolon Oc. Lahun Chuen. Buluc Eb. Lahca Ben.⁵
 Oxlahun Yx. Hun Men. Ca Cib. Ox Caban. Can Eḡ'nab. Hoil Cauac.
 Vac Ahau. Vuc¹⁰ Ymix. Vaxacil Yk. Bolon Akabal. Lahun Kan.
 Buluc Chicchan. Lahca Cimi. Oxlahun Manik. Hun Lamat.

Lay çihci vinal, y uchci yahalcab; ḡolci caan y luum y cheob y tunich; çihci tulacal tumen ca-yumil ti Dios lae. Lay Citbil ti minan

caan y luum, ti bay yanil tu-Diosil, tu-muyalil, tuba tu-hunal, ca u-çihçah balcah tuçinil, ca pecnahi tu-caanil, tu-kuil, ti bay noh u-chucil, yanil ah-tepal-e.

U-ğolan-kin çançamal, licil uxocol uchun ti likin-e, hebix çolanil-e.

Scholia

1. See p. 12 above. — 2. **Lah-** as prefix means 'the whole, to the end of'; **lahcab** means 'to the end of the earth,' and is not an error for **lahca**, twelve, as Roys takes it. — 3. **çi** is for **çihci**. — 4. **Eb-haa**, stairway-water seems obviously meant for the rainbow; but even so, Roys' rendering **eb** by the 'ebb' of the tides is incomprehensible. — 5. Text has **Men**, an obvious slip. — 6, 7, 8. Text has **Vac**, **Ix**, **Akal**, errors for **Vuc**, **Imix**, **Akbal**. — 9. The Maya is obscure, but favors Roys' interpretation rather than Mediz Bolio's. — 10. **Vay Imix**, a mistake for **Vuc Imix**. — For other differences in my understanding of the Maya from Roys', see his article, as above.

TRANSLATION

Thus was it set forth by the first man of learning, Merchise, and by the first prophet Napuctun, the first priest of the Sun. This is the song of how there came to pass the birth of the **Vinal**, the Score of Days, when the dawn had not yet come to the earth, in those ancient times. He began then his course, in himself, alone.

Then spoke his mother, and spoke his mother's sister, and spoke his father's mother, and spoke his sister-in-law: "How shall we speak, and how shall we see men on the road." So they said, to themselves, as they marched, in those ancient days, when there were no men.

And then they arrived there at the East, and began to say, "Some one passed along by this place, here are his footsteps, behold them." "Measure by your footsteps," spoke the voice (as they say) of the mistress of the world. And then (it is said) our Father, God, the Word, compared his footsteps. Thus he began his speaking: "Counted is the end of the Earth, behold the footsteps, twelve steps."

This is the order born through the thirteen steps, wherewith came about the meeting of his steps. They arose there, in the East, and spoke its name, when there was as yet no name for the Sun (the Day), in those ancient times. Thereupon he traveled his course, with his mother, and mother's sister, and his father's mother, and his sister-in-law. Thus was born the **Vinal**, was born the one called **Kin** (the Sun, the Day), were born the Heavens and the Land, the water-stairway, land, stones and trees, were born the things of the sea and land.

On One Chuen he manifested himself in his divinity, he made the sky and the land.

On Two Eb he made the first stairway, and descended thereupon in the middle of the sky, in the middle of the waters, there being neither land nor stones nor trees.

On Three Ben he made all things, whatever things there are, the things of the heavens, and the things of the sea, and the things of the land.

On Four Ix there came to pass the leaning over of the sky and land.

On Five Men there came to pass the making of all.

On Six Cib it came about that he made the first candle, and there took place the coming of light, there being neither sun nor moon.

On Seven Caban was first born the earth, we not being in existence at that time.

On Eight Eg'nab he settled firmly his hands and feet, and gathered together the surface of the land.

On Nine Cauac there was first tested Metnal (Hades).

On Ten Ahau it came to pass that the evil men went to Hades, because God, who is the Word, was not recognized, in those days.

On Eleven Imix it came to pass that he formed stones and trees; this he did within the Day.

On Twelve Ik there was brought into being the Air; this is the cause of its being called Ik, because in that there is no death.

On Thirteen Akbal it came to pass that he took water, and moistened earth, and molded, and became man.

On One Kan he first made anger, because of the evil he had created.

On Two Chicchan it came to pass that he discerned the evil in whatever he saw in the face of the country there.

On Three Cimi he ordained death; it came to pass that God our Father ordained the first death.

(An unfilled space for Four Manik.)

On Five Lamat he devised the seven great waters of the sea.

On Six Muluc there came to pass the burying of all the hollows, the dawn having not yet come.

With this there came to pass the entrance of the decree of God our Father, to all, there being as yet no voice in the heavens, neither stones and trees, in those ancient times. Then they proceeded to the proving out; and he spoke then thus:

Thirteen added, Seven added, One. This he said, and raised his voice where there was no voice. Then was asked its basis by the first lord, the Sun. But they did not comprehend his style of speech so that they might talk together; they went into the midst of the heavens, and clasped each other's hands, there. Then standing erect in the center

of the earth-circle, divided in four are they, in quarters are they, the Burners, Four in number they are:

4 Chicchan, the Burner; 4 Oc, the Burner; 4 Men, the Burner; 4 Ahau, the Burner. There are the Lords, behold, Four in number.

8 Muluc, 9 Oc, 10 Chuen, 11 Eb, 12 Ben, 13 Ix, 1 Men, 2 Cib, 3 Caban, 4 Eḡ'nab, 5 Cauac, 6 Ahau, 7 Imix, 8 Ik, 9 Akbal, 10 Kan, 11 Chicchan, 12 Cimi, 13 Manik, 1 Lamat.

In this was born the Vinal, and there came to pass the Dawn; and were set in order the sky and the land and trees and stones; and there came into being everything, through God our Father, there. He, the Word, when there was neither sky nor land, when thus was he existent in his divinity, in the cloud-mist in himself, in his unity, when he created the universe in its extension, and moved in his heavens and in his godhood, when thus as Lord of Glory then, he was there existent in his great power.

The Order of the Days, one by one, wherein the beginning of the count is there in the East, according to its order.

It seems like an anticlimax to such a text, to come down to discussions or comments in a field where I know that both Mr. Roys (whom I have known almost since the beginning of his Maya studies) and Dr. Thompson, are equally devoted in desire to bring forth from the modern 'cloudmists' all things Maya. But it seems to me, first, that this very text, seen for itself, quite supports the term *ḡolkin*, which Dr. Thompson says has "crept in, but is even less satisfactory" than the Aztec *tonalamatl*.

As noted in my recent Outline Glyph Dictionary, this word *ḡolkin* was my own suggestion, nearly ten years ago, to get away from the Aztec. I had not then noted the *u-ḡolan kin* in this text, but based the suggestion on the actual value of the verb *ḡol*, to order, arrange in order, together with the positive support of its actual complete equivalent in Quiché. There are two words in point here, in Quiché and also in Maya. In Quiché we have *ch'ol*, as the exact equivalent of the Maya *ḡol*; the meaning is the same, and Maya *ḡ* changes regularly to *ch* in Quiché. The other Quiché verb is *ahil*, to count, count over, corresponding in meaning to the Maya *xoc*. Things are placed in order, one by one, *ḡol*, *ch'ol*; after that they are counted, related, read, *xoc*, *ahil*.

In the Quiché texts therefore we *actually find* two terms used for a calendar, or counting of days: *ch'olkih*, and *ahilabal kih*. The latter is found applied to the modern annual calendar, *our* calendar; the former is used just where we are now using *ḡolkin*, and is besides its exact

phonetic equivalent. At the time I made this suggestion, I relied on the above facts, and had not yet seen it actually used in Maya. But the phrase at the end of the song is a complete support; *u-ḡolan-kin*; the form *ḡolan* is the participial adjective, 'arranged' and is only a variant construction of the simple compound, *ḡolkin*. Note also its repetition as the very last word in the Song, *ḡolanil*.

There is a further Maya word, over which Roys hesitates a little, which exactly fits the whole context—the word *tuc*, in *oxlahun Tuc*, *vuc Tuc*, *hun*. This is a 'counter' for things brought together one by one, and different from the usual term, *mol*, to pile or heap up; "13 added, 7 added, One." We find in this connection the words *ḡamḡamal*, day by day, in the last sentence, *u-ḡolankin ḡamḡamal*; also *hunhuntul*, one at a time, speaking of the "24 years" of the *katun*, in the *Kaua* text above.

The use of these words *ḡolan*, *tuc*, *ḡamḡamal* exactly fits the action of 'God the Father, the Word,' in response to the command of the Mistress of the World. Told to compare the footsteps by his own, he does so, reports the whole earth, the end of the earth (*lah-cab*) as measured and twelve steps, and the coming together of the steps then. The word next used is *u-nuptanba yoc*, indicating that he had traversed the earth until his steps *met*, as do two edges of cloth when joined edge to edge. Here the steps, on this meeting, become thirteen, and the *order* is born. Then the company arose in the East, and spoke its name, when as yet the Day had had no name. And after this the Vinal, who first had traveled "in himself, alone" (the exact phrase used of the Supreme in the final clauses), and after which the four speakers had 'marched' (the same word, *ximbal*), now travels his course with the four.

Next the Days of the Vinal are developed in order, one by one; and curiously enough, the list here begins with One Chuen, recalling at once the Hero Youth of the *Popol Vuh*, Hun-Chouen, whose work with his brother ushered in a new cycle, a new order.

It is especially noteworthy that the Day is not born until the Vinal has been born. And this, together with the whole relation, brings out another thing in this 'myth' that even transcends the beauty of it as a 'song.'

The Vinal is the number Twenty, it is born, marches, is measured, and put in order, even before the Day, which comes in when, after this, the East is arrived at. It is measured by Thirteen, and Seven over. After this it becomes the *Score of Days*. In short, we have an actual example of Pythagorean numbers, moving to build the cosmos, as 'God

geometrizes.' The number 20 was to the Maya in every way what 10 is to us; we think in tens, modified and involved ceremonially and chronologically by inter-revolving sevens and twelves. The Maya used the 20 with involuted 13's and 18's. We are here dealing in pure numbers, pure mathematics, as underlying forms, the cosmos, physics—without which numbers our modern physicists and cosmologists (having gotten out of the medieval world of miracles and arbitrary 'creation') acknowledge that their work and studies would be both meaningless, and impossible.

It is particularly to be noted that the text does not start with the terms usually applied to the priests, implying magic; the words at the beginning mean 'man of learning, scientist'; prophet; man of the sun (or day). We see the Mayas' own reference to their ancient wise men in a manner that sets them before us in that same light wherein we think of the Greek philosophers, and the *Timaios* of Plato; and yet which, at bottom, makes them mentally kin to the greatest of our present day *ahmiaṭz*, *ahbovat*, *ahkin*—students of science through numbers, and the course of the ages (past and future), and studiers of the Sun himself.

Incidentally, I am glad to see that Dr. Thompson has driven another nail into the long-held etymology of *vinal* as derived from the Yucatecan Maya *u*, the moon. I cannot follow him in the way he associates the days with their patron gods, except of course *Kan* and *Cimi*. I cannot see how the four world-directions cause an assignment of that number to either *Ahau* or the 'sky-god.' Nor of 5 for the old man, or 8 with maize; he may have data I have overlooked. But his point that the inscriptional face-numerals have individual forms up to 13, and 14 to 19 are compounded of these, is excellent. It is indeed highly probable that these points are connected, and that at least one set of Thirteen Gods, or *oxlahun ti ku*, are to be found with definite, still unknown, reasons, in these face-numerals. The Thirteen Heavens at once remind one of the Sephirothal hierarchies, but I much doubt that the Mayas had a god for each heaven. And as to the question of which was first, the hen or the egg, I do not think (with Dr. Thompson) that the mythology produced the number-sacredness; this very Birth of the Vinal is to me one of the best proofs possible that Number came first here—as we could well expect with the dominant part played by Numbers, as found all through every thing Maya, in actual higher degree than any known culture elsewhere.

I wish Dr. Thompson would get into linguistics with the same 'affection' as he gives to expeditions.

W. G.

THE MAYA SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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SEQUITUR

The response to the first number of the QUARTERLY has been both gratifying and surprising. With the reorganization and incorporation of the Maya Society in 1930, and its definitive separation from its previous anthropological "Section H" associations, our program was a very restricted one, in the research sense. It was to get this old unstudied material out into print and English; to treat the Mayance languages as real and literary idioms, with study and editing in the old-time classical manner. In the first number we gave texts in Maya, and others, with language comments that required a knowledge of technical *old* Maya in the reader, even to follow; bringing in as had been done in the Glyph Dictionary, points that were attractive enough to stimulate interest and hoped-for further study. In the United States we knew of just three persons who would even attempt to translate Maya (although everybody in Yucatan speaks modern 'plantation' Maya); if there are others they have not shown up. Of the other, highly important southern Mayance branches, we do not know a single actual student in this country—possibly one exception.

We did no advertising; we sent a limited number of copies to some libraries and institutions, and a few individuals. A few newspaper articles resulted, mostly starting from a single Science Service release on the Song of the Vinal. We have had to order a second printing of the December number before the March goes on, to meet the calls from a wholly unknown (hitherto), interested general body of readers—not University people, but evidently mostly people in business; one of these latter even wrote calling the QUARTERLY a "constant inspiration, to be turned to."

All of which simply proves our major point: There is so much in this old Maya and Mayance material of deep interest, that is only needed to be brought out in print, translated, and however 'encumbered' with pure linguistic technicalities, to make its own way, and to build its *own reading public*. Which is definitely to the credit of the material and not to ourselves, since it brought and is still daily bringing us a public, and a growing Associate Membership we did not expect, or even

at first plan to try for. We do think that the paper and format which we sought to give it as worthy, have had a part; but the credit belongs to "Maya"—real Maya, living, understandable old Maya; which is where we wanted to see it given.

We shall continue on the plans as started, with this addition: we shall allow the notes to the translations to be somewhat less condensed, with more space given to the cultural and historical points. Accurate, and accurately edited texts and translations are essential; but, after all, they only serve the real objective, and in that simply provide at present a base for studies. To us, as Editor, the life of the published pieces, such as Professor Cornyn's, the letter from Señor Dieseldorff, and our Chumayel pages, lies in the notes. To which we commend our readers.

Our plan is to avoid 'articles' of the usual scientific periodical type (which are usually deadly dull, ever "telling more and more about less and less"), but for our new body of members and the general public that still has no hint of how many and how important the different branches of Mayance, northern and southern, are, we shall with the June issue include a linguistic map of Mayadom, on linen, as a supplement. With this we shall give in the number itself a review of the different branches, their location, etc.; and at least begin a listing of the surviving manuscript or other material in each. Ultimately we plan to publish full and detailed bibliographic data for each Mayance branch, in succession. Since the Maya Society collection includes substantially all that is known as existing, manuscript or printed, and early or late (either in the originals or photographs), this is only a matter of time and the labor involved. All together it would make a volume in itself; but since the program includes the successive publication not only of texts but of grammars and dictionaries in each branch, these two parts of the work can go along together. Meanwhile through the June issue readers can begin to visualize the Mayance languages and people as they now can do the Romance-speaking countries of Europe, standing to their mother Latin as the Mayance tongues we are translating do to the archaic speech of the monument builders, and glyph-writing 'wise men.'

In June we hope to have another chapter of the Chumayel (or other early Maya text), another folk-tale from Professor Cornyn, and more Guatemalan texts. What we very much want and hope for, however, is criticisms and comments from outside, such as are noted in the following pages. It is possible to take the research drudge work of the study out to where it gives real pictures to the non-specialist, and the gratification we have worded above comes from the fact that our incoming readers of the past three months, avowed beginners as well as 'old hands,' have helped to prove that for us.

IXCIT CHEEL

From the Maya, by J. H. CORNYN

Báaxten úchi uyántal Xtabay vay lumilob-a.

Ti hump'el nohcá tuux cu-tépal huntul tancelen ahau g'ubetic yaab habob, yanhi huntul xlókbayen ch'úpá yaab ucíchpamil. Hunten-e betab-i hump'el chaan tu-kivic vahaunail cah. Yaab h-batel vinicob hop' ubeticob tusbátel te kivic-o, uchebal uchántic le tancelen ahau-o, xecaan tu-gam to cánil-o. Tz'ococ-i ubetcob utusbátel le vínicób-o, taliob yaal balg'amob ca hop' ubalg'amil. Hach chééhnaahi ahau tumen cu-p'ásticob yumac ucuxtal vinicob.

"Bah yan uyiḡ'atil le balg'amob," tuyalah ahau.

Tz'oc-i tun, talob h-ókotob ca hop' uhum upaxob, tunkul, hub yétel sootob. Ca hop' ukayicob; "Cónex, cónex, palex-e, xic ubin, xic ubin yokotic." Ca chumpahi yókotob.

Yaab ulak h-ókotob talob xan-i, yokoticob hehelán ókotob. Bay man oxp'el kinob. Tu-yoxp'elil-i tulacal xbalob yan bin utascob ti ahau he bax ukatob. Letiob bin g'aicob ti hach tu-kab, tumen ahau-e ukat ukahólticob, caachi tulacal, uchebal ucaxtic yatan; tumen ukat ug'ocol ubel yétel huntul xcíchpam xch'up, cexma almehenil-é.

Ca hop' utalob le xbalob-o. Yan cu-tascob suhuy cab but'an ichil túmben catob. Yan cu-tasic haḡ'ug' ch'ich'ob yaab uvohol-vohil upachob va cí ukayob. Yan cu-tasic unichteob kaax, samacnac ubocil yétel yaab hobonilob.

Bay uchi unaḡ'aba vahau le xch'upal-a ukaba Ixcit Cheel, ca tu-yalah ti:

"He insiil tech-á, yum-e; unchac uyug'tal tavich."

Ca tu-kubá ti, hump'el haḡ'ug' suyém, yaab uvinclis chuyán yétel kukmel nach-i ch'ich'ob.

"Ci at'an, ch'upal; ug' tin-vich asiil-a. Maax akabá?"

"Ixcit Cheel in-kabá." Ca tun gáy ti, yacunáh-tiolah ucíchcelemil ahau.

Tz'óc-i le chan-o; ca tun ahau-e hop' utuclic max yétel le xbálob bin g'ócoc ubel. Tu-yoxp'el kin-e tu-yalah:

"Yétel Ixcit Cheel bin ug'ocol in-bel."

Ca tun túxtabi yálabal ti le xch'upal-ó. Ca tu-yúba ut'an ahau, yanhi ti yaab ciciolal, tumen yaab xan uyacuntic. Ca hop' uch'alba tulácal balob utial ukin le g'ocsah bel-o.

He tun ulak ahau, cutépal ti tánxel gúcub, tu-yocsah katun, ca hop' bátel. Bin tun yahauil ucah Ixcit ukatuntic unup, yétel bahun yaab katun-vinicob. Oḡil Ixcit-e p'at tu-hun. Lah-kinob cu-payalchitic ti hahal ku, ma yuchul lob ti yahaulil. Cu-g'iboltic yaab ca ubacsah-te unup utial ca g'ócoc le bátel-o. Bay tun úch-o. Ma máni mix cá vinalob, ca tu-chucah unup ca oci tu-cáhal. He bac leti-e ma tu-mentah lob ti mixmaac. Ca hop' yilabal

tumen le xbálob cahánob te ulak-cah-o hebix ku-e. Leti tun-e sáti upol ca hop'i ugucultic ukínob yétel ch'uplалob, ca tun tub ti v-Ixcit Cheel tu-p'atah tu-cahal.

Le Ixcit la bin tun yilic huntul xnuc, yaab unaat utial umákantic ulóbil yacunah cu-ṡayal ti ch'uplалob. Ca tun tu-yálah ti Ixcit:

"Yan mentic kay nicté utial usut-xun."

Ca tun binób tu-kin tulis U ich kaax, yétel cantul ulak xbálob; ca tu-pánahob hump'el hol ti luum ca tu-chupahób yétel há. Tu-bisob xan unicté xtulunhuy. Ixcit tupitah unok, ca p'at xmábuc, ca óci ichil le há-o. Ca tun hop' ukayil nicté. Cu bin ukayob le xbálob, cu bin yokotob tu-chi le hol-o. Bolonp'el sut cu-ṡ'áicob tu-noholil, bolonp'el tuṡ'icil. Hex cu-ṡ'áicob bolonp'el sutob, cu-vátalob uchebal uṡ'amcob ichil le há-o le nicht'eob-o. Cu-ṡ'ocol uṡ'amcob, cu-pulcob yókol uṡem Ixcit. Le xnuc-o cu-chen kay yétel cu-payalchí tun kátic usut le ahau, bey suc cuṡ-é, tac tu-pucsíkal Ixcit. Ixcit cu-yalic-e:

"Cex Metnal ca sunac."

Ca tun ṡ'oci le kay-ó, bin yotoch u-pátic u-sut ahau. Hebac máni kinob tu-yábil ma sutnahí.

Ca tun máni ox u ma htalí, hop' utuclicob ucuchteilob, mia ṡ'oc utúbalahób tumen yahauil. Ca tun bin caxtábil. Bey tun úchi utal. Hebac ma táli tu-hun, tumen yet-talic oxtul xbálob tu-chucah te cah tu-bácsah-ó.

Oṡil Ixcit bin yilic tu-ahaunail, uyálic unúculilob uṡ'ocol ubelob ṡ'ocsa-hanob. He tun ma pathi yilic, men ma tu-yés tuba ti. Ca tun oc ti le xbal-a yaab ṡemolal. U-nohil h-kin t-yohetah baax tan yúchul, ca bin yálic ti aháu-o:

"Yum-e, he le Ixcit-o yaab u-yacunahtic ech, he bac tech-é ma tavilíc. Tuux yan avólah, yum-e? Tech ta-katáh utial avátantic. Tz'oc va atúbsic lo?" Letí tun tu-núcah ti h-kin:

"P'at-e in-betic he bax in-kát-e. Cex noh-kín ech, ten-é ahau en. Ca tuxtaac álbil ti Ixcit-ó, ṡ'oc in-helbesic in-túcul. Ma tu-páhtal in-ṡ'ócsic in-bel yétel."

Ca tun álabi ti Ixcit Cheel baax tu-cantah yahaulil. Oṡil Ixcit! Oc cóil ti. Ca puṡ' ichil kaax ca t-vocsuba ti hump'el áctun, tuux cími. U-pixan tuún cu-hókol ti beob upay vinicob utúst'anticob, uchebal ucims-cob. Leló uch'atohil cu bin ubetic tac behe lae. Cu-ch'icpahal ti h-xímbalob bey huntul x-cíchpam xch'uplal ubúciintma hump'el sasac huipil, ch'abil uṡóṡel upol, cu bin uxáchetic. Le max cu bin tupach, ma tu-sut. Yan max cu-yálic-é, cuvalkesahuba le ch'úplal-o ti huntul nohoch can, cá ṡ'it une. Le cu-yocsicob tu-hol uní vinicob yétel, cu-hep'ic vinclil yétel uchovacil utiál-í. Letí lelá cu-yálabal x-tabáy behe lae tumen cu-tábsic vínicob. Kakas baal tuún. Xul.

Rainbow Aunt.

How it happens that there is a X'tabáy in this land.

In a great city over which reigned a youthful king there was, many years ago, a very beautiful young lady who had come to the age of marriage. Once there was a great festival on the plaza in front of the royal palace where many soldiers put on a sham battle for the entertainment of the king who was seated up on his throne. After they had finished their military manoeuvres many actors appeared on the scene and began presenting a play. The king laughed heartily for they satirized excesses in the lives of men.

"Great is the wisdom of these actors," said the king.

After these came dancers who began to play their musical instruments: drums, sea-shells and timbrels, and to sing:

"Come on, come on, girls! Hurry up, hurry up to the dance!"

They began at once to dance. Many other dancers came; and they danced different dances. In this way three days went by. On the third all the young girls had to present to the king whatever pleased them. Their presents they placed in the hands of the king who wanted to know all of them personally; for he wished to select a wife and to marry a beautiful woman even though she might not be of noble family.

The young girls began to arrive. Some brought wild honey in jars; others wonderfully-scented, many-colored forest flowers. A young girl named Ixcit Cheel went up to the king and said to him:

"Here is my present for thee, my lord. May it find favor in thine eyes."

And she gave him a handsome cape of elaborate needle-work and adorned with feathers of birds from distant lands.

"You have well said, girl. Your present has found favor in my eyes. What is your name?"

"Ixcit Cheel is my name."

And there and then she fell in love with the handsome king.

After the festival the king began to consider which of the young ladies he should marry. On the third day he said:

"I am going to marry Ixcit Cheel."

And a messenger was sent at once to tell her.

When she heard the king's message she was overjoyed; for she loved him greatly. At once she began to prepare all for the wedding.

In the meantime another prince of a neighboring kingdom declared war; and hostilities began at once. The king of Ixcit's town went to give battle to his enemy with the largest possible army; and poor Ixcit

was left alone. Every day she prayed to the true God that no mishap might come to her king. She wished very much that he might defeat his opponent that the war might end. And so it happened. Two months had not passed before he defeated his enemy and entered his capital. He did no harm to any one; so he was soon looked upon by the young girls of that city as a god. Then he lost his head and began to spend his days in carnal pleasures with women and forgot his Ixcit Cheel whom he had left behind in his own town.

Ixcit went to see an old woman who was good at fixing up all the ills of love that afflict young girls. She said to Ixcit:

"We must sing the song of the flowers that your beloved may come back."

So they went, on the day of the full moon, into a wood with four other young girls; and dug a hole in the ground and filled it with water. Then they began the song of the flowers. The girls went on singing and dancing at the edge of the hole. Nine turns they made to the right, nine to the left. When they had completed these nine circles (each way) they stopped to dip the flowers in the water: and when they had wet them they threw them on the breast of Ixcit. The old woman continued singing and praying that the king might return, meek as a wild turkey, to the breast of Ixcit, who said:

"Although it be from the under-world, let him come back."

When the song ended she went home to await the return of the king. Many days passed and he had not come back. When three moons had gone by and he had not returned, his people began to think they had all been forgotten by their sovereign. So they went to hunt him. Then he came back. But he did not return alone; for there accompanied him three young girls whom he had got in the city he had conquered.

Poor Ixcit went to see him at his palace to tell him that all was ready for the wedding; but she could not see him for he did not show himself. Then sadness fell upon the young girl.

The high priest, who knew what was taking place, went and said to the king:

"My lord, here is Ixcit who loves you very much; but you will not see her. Where is your will, my lord? You asked for her in marriage. Have you already forgotten her?"

At once he answered the priest:

"Let me do as I want to. You are high priest; I am king. Go and tell Ixcit I have changed my mind. I cannot marry her."

Ixcit was told what the king said. Poor Ixcit! Madness seized upon her. She fled to the forest and entered a cave where she died. But her spirit comes out on the road and calls to men deceiving them with

flattering words to lead them to death. This is her revenge which she has continued up to now. She appears to the pedestrians on the highway as a beautiful woman wearing a white huipil and combing the flowing hair of her head. He who follows her never returns. Some say she changes herself into a monster two-tailed serpent. Sticking the tails into the nostrils of men, she squeezes their bodies with her whole length. So she is still called "X'tabáy" because she deceives people. The end.

Notes

The story of **Ixcit Cheel** was obtained from a priest in Ticul by Alfredo Barrera of Maxcanú, Yucatan, who dictated it to me in Maya. It has all the ear-marks of an old myth converted into a modern folk-tale. **Ixcit Cheel** was an ancient goddess of hunting. In this and the other name, **X'tabáy**, by which she is known in Yucatan today, her former office is shown.

Ixcit is aunt; an old and honored person. **Chéel, cheil**, wooded, belonging to the trees or forest, with the derived meaning of rainbow, which connects it with the myth of the rainbow tree. Hence the modern popular translation of "Rainbow Aunt." Behind this name stretches a far-extending mythological trail leading back to the days of the hunting races. The derivation of both parts of the compound shows this. **Ix** is the sign of the feminine gender; **cit**, the native wild pig of Central America.

Ancient hunting races endowed the animals of the chase with superhuman cunning; and this belief, handed down to later peoples, formed the central motive of the long ritual of the hunters, in which every move of the chief priest enchanter, who leads the hunt ceremonially, is made to deceive the deer, represented as an all-powerful magician, monarch of the Sacred Land of the water gods. The highways (runways of the deer) were said to be "traveled all the daytime, traveled all the night-time." In the Maya myth the deer is replaced by the wild pig, extensively hunted in Yucatan. It is feminine because it is symbolical of the goddess of hunting.

Citán, the wild boar, has the adverbial sense of that which is long past or far from here, undoubtedly because of its connection with the ancient myth. **Cit-bolontum** (boar with nine walled places), also a god of hunting, is connected with the old myth of the god of first creation, birth and fertility, who had nine kingdoms in the under-world, each of which was surrounded by a stone wall. **Cit-chac-coh** (red-jaguar-boar), another god of the chase, figures in folk-tales in Yucatan. **Citbil**, a very important ancient Maya deity, who seems to have once been connected with the gods of hunting, was used by native writers in Yucatan, after the conquest, as synonymous with the Christian Supreme Being.

Ixcit Cheel might properly be translated as "the very old and honored one of the forest," since her genealogical tree has its roots in the land of the early hunting races.

X'tabáy, ancient goddess of hunting, in the modern folk-tale, is synonymous with **Ixcit Cheel**. She appears today always as the deceiver of men, undoubtedly because of her former ceremonial office of leader of the hunt. Philologically, however, the word does not convey this latter meaning. Its component parts are: **ix** sign of the feminine gender; **ta** obsidian, lance, knife; **ba** ancestor, he who carries; **i** demonstrative pronoun, that one, he, she: "the old one who carried the obsidian lance or

knife," a descriptive epithet of the goddess of hunting. It is not strange, therefore, that *Ixcit Cheel*, the *x'tabáy*, should assume the office of killer in the modern folk-tale.

Tunkul, which word seems to have been formed from the sound of the instrument, is the Yucatecan equivalent of the Aztec *teponaztli*.

Sóot, (*ḡ'óot*) a wire or metal hoop on which are strung metal, bone, shell or other small disks, loosely so as to permit them to rattle freely. It is used much in the same manner as the tambourine, to accompany the dances. Unlike the latter it has no drum-head.

This folk-tale is of more than ordinary interest because of the Indian customs it describes, most of which are still alive, in one form or another, in Yucatan. The folk dances, the gathering of the people on the public plaza, the actors and jesters, the offering of presents by the young girls to the sovereign, the witch consulted in love affairs, the flower-song ceremony with its accompanying incantations, are all echoes out of the past before European influences invaded Yucatan.—J. H. C.

Additional Notes.—W. G.

On receiving this tale from Mr. Cornyn, I wrote him at length, objecting to some of his points, and asking for supporting authorities on some. His answer was so completely responsive to what I most want to see brought about through the *QUARTERLY*, *honest* controversy and the stimulation of research into this immense yet almost unworked field of culture and linguistics, that the letter is here given entire to our readers. In making my "objections" I had not used the Brasseur Maya vocabulary in the second Troano volume, but had used all the others. Mr. Cornyn's letter reads:

. . . Suppose you let the notes go in as you suggest, and make your reservations. Someone else may come into the field; and the more discussion the better for the subject.

The common translation, I found, for *Ixcit Cheel*, in Yucatan was either The Rainbow Aunt, or the Deceiver. There are many curious features of the story. One of the curious stunts that the Indians credit her with doing is to climb *up* the *rainbow* and then slide down it; and I found an old Indian who assured me he had seen her do it. Another story is that the pigs all take to cover when she appears. If the pigs make a noise at night they say the Deceiver is out at her old tricks. There was an old woman in Motul who had the reputation of being a witch and powerful enchanter. She was known to be evil-disposed; and it was currently believed that she often changed herself into a *sow*, and in this form frequently, on bright moonlight nights, went out on the road to meet *Ixcit Cheel*, who also *changed herself into a pig*. I have no doubt all these beliefs harken back to the long distant past when *Ixcit Cheel* was the goddess of hunting; and that the present folk-tale is a broken-down myth—as are practically all tales of this kind.

Cit, in old Maya, was the root element for pig. It seems to have been derived from *citat*, swift. Brasseur de Bourbourg gives in his dictionary (Ms. Troano, vol. II):

Cit, . . . cochon sauvage (puerco montés de la tierra).

Cit-bil, nom d'une divinité antique . . . Sign. . . sanglier aux *neufs defenses*, ou aux neufs pointes. It would take too long to recount all the evidence of the "nine palaces and nine kingdoms" of the god of fertility. They are frequently called up in the old incantations and they are still believed in by the Aztecs, Mayas, Zapotecas and Mixtecas. The tobacco, which was ceremonially taken to represent the god of fertility, is addressed in the ritual of the hunters as the "nine-times beaten, the nine-times pounded," and the old priest collector tells us it is so called because it represented the "fire god of our subsistence and his nine palaces and nine kingdoms in the underworld."

Ixcit, tante du côté paternel. (But the word is used today in Yucatan with the old sense of some respected old person, just as *tata* (to-atl-tatli, our-water-father, the Aztec Noah) is in Aztec and generally throughout Mexico today.)

Ix-chel, nom d'une divinité femelle, grande sorcière, etc. (She was connected with birth and was credited with forming children within the womb of the mother. In other words she was a goddess of fertility.)

Cheel, arco-iris.

Ba, père, ancêtre, seigneur, etc., ce qui est au fond, en bas. (That is, he who is the foundation of the family.)

Ixtab, name of a female divinity who presided at *suicides*:—B. B. She was also a *killer*.

Xtabay, nom d'un fantôme qui apparaît de nuit, etc.

Ta, obsidienne, *lancette a saigner*; (which was used to bleed animals.)

Tabay, nom d'un des dieux de la chasse. Prefix to this X' and you have a *female* divinity of the chase. This conveys no idea of debasement; nor does it in ix-cit. X'ta-ba-y does not literally mean "She who carries the obsidian knife, lance, etc." but she who is herself the lance, according to a professor of Maya in Mérida with whom I discussed the origin of the word: "She-knife-herself-that-one"—that person; she who is the obsidian knife. As the leader of the hunt she was instrumental in the killing. The goddess of hunting was represented as carrying an obsidian knife; it was one of her symbols. In this sense she is the bearer of the sacrificial or hunting knife. Moreover, in one version of the story (and there are several), she is represented as cutting the throat of her victim with an *obsidian* knife.

Cheil, boiserie, tout ce qui est de bois:—B. B.; adj. boisé. Both forms cheel and cheil are used in Yucatan today with the sense of wooded, made of wood, woody.

Notwithstanding your opinion, for which I have high respect, I am inclined to think that *Ixchel* *was*, in early times (that is, before the invention of medicine in any formal way) the goddess of hunting, *Ix-cheel* or *Ix-cheil*, contracted to *Ixchel*, meaning "she of the wood." An intelligent Indian in Yucatan translated *Ixcit-cheel*, she-of-the-pig-forest, which would mean the huntress (of pigs principally). As the goddess she would be the provider and sustainer, which was practically all the early hunters demanded. Gods take on all kinds of functions and offices, as they march along with civilization. Where they do not live with the times they disappear. *Tezcatlipoca*, originally the Moon God and primitive deity of hunting, became the greatest of all the Aztec gods; but it undoubtedly took him several thousand years to do it.

The connection of "rainbow-tree" was undoubtedly not in the original myth, but the transition from the primitive meaning to that of the woman in the rainbow is not far; and similar changes took place constantly in the myths of all countries: the illiterate English peasant today calls asparagus "sparrow-grass" because it sounds as if it meant something. And even a myth has grown up about it to account for it.

All the above meanings of the words in the text under discussion are taken from B. de B. Some of them may be dialectic; but that does not alter the fact that they were in use in his day. One of the derivations of *X'tabay*, in Yucatan, as mentioned already, is "the deceiver," from *tabsah*, to deceive; or perhaps *tabal*, to deceive oneself. I rather think this is a secondary meaning emphasizing the rôle played by the goddess of the hunt, who was ritually "the grand deceiver," who worked her magic on the animal hunted, so that with all "*his grand magic*" he was unable to tell the counter-magic that was being ceremonially worked up against him. The leader of the ceremonies boasts: "I'm the soul of warfare; I'm the necromancer; I'm the great deceiver, I shall lead them to *intoxication*": that is, lull them to sleep, so that they may not realize the incantations being used against them.

Here are some quotations referring to the Nine Dominions of the god and goddess of fertility, ceremonially represented by the master priest enchanter of the hunt:

"Come, oh priest enchanter (the tobacco), you the nine-times-beaten, you the nine-times-pounded." (The note of the commentator says that this ceremonial beating with a club and pounding with a stone nine times, represented the nine kingdoms and nine palaces of the god whose form and power the priest enchanter assumed.)

"For my elder brother (god of fertility) I have summoned to me from his kingdoms, from his regions sub-terrestrial; *from his nine dominions.*"

"That it may not be charged against me with truth, that I took them to the Nine Dominions, regions sub-terrestrial," etc.

"Come, oh Nanahuatzin, you the year's young offspring, come and bring before me the nine-times-beaten, the nine-times-pounded," (the tobacco ceremonially used). The incantation had failed to make the hunt successful, and the tobacco is held responsible for the failure, and is summoned to answer therefor. I might cite half a hundred other references.

The belief that the rainbow was a mystical tree is found in ancient Maya records which I have in my possession. The Aztecs also believed it. Later on I will dig out these references and forward them to you. I never state anything I haven't authority for; I learned that years ago during my philological studies in Germany and France.—J. H. C.

I had objected to making **cit** and **citám** the same word; I find no authority outside of Brasseur, but Mr. Cornyn has made out his case, as *used in Yucatan today*. I cited the adverb **citán**, "off over there," as not being **cit-an** (**cit** plus the preterit ending **-an**), but **ci-tan**, the **tan** being the preterit form of the verb **tal**, **ti**, **tac**, *estar*; this he has not refuted—but it is a wholly minor point in the story. I also objected to **ba**, the common word for self, as meaning ancestor; in the absence of support in the Motul or elsewhere that I can find, I cannot accept Brasseur alone for this. But Mr. Cornyn's rendering, as given him in Yucatan, "she-flint-self-that-one," does hold together. I also objected (and still do) to an identification of **che-el**, of wood, with its *apparent* homonym **chel**, the rainbow—etymologically. But that the two are clearly blended in folk-telling in Yucatan today, he has well proven. The idea, further, that the rainbow is a tree, can be attributed, in Yucatan, to the usual popular etymology *ad hoc*; but the finding it also in other regions where it cannot be so explained, would only help to open the way into that great world of past American myth and tradition which, as everywhere else, holds not only ancient beliefs, but history. So that, Mr. Cornyn has completely tied together (at least as for folklore, which is all he really claims) the **Xtabay**, the Rainbow Aunt, the tree (whether of the forest or the rainbow), the pig, and the huntress. That the gods, and goddesses, do shift, and change their functions, is wholly true; just as true as that gipsy lore has its roots in ancient religious science.

Finally (and here I do differ with Mr. Cornyn), I cannot believe that **cit-ám**, wild pig, and **cheel xtabay**, the killer huntress of the woods, are back of the Supreme One, **Citbil**, or the healing and protecting spouse of Iḡamná, the Lady **Ixchel**. The ideas do not fit, any more than such a piece as the Birth of the Vinal, and the presence there of **Citbil**, existent alone in his divinity, the cloud-mist, before there was either sky or land. Animal- and even human-headed deities in all religions are the expressions of potencies, losing even that estate in later times, and to the common people; but in cosmogony and to the philosopher, the **ah-miaḡ**, something very different lies behind.—W. G.

CALENDAR AND NAGUALISM OF THE TZELTALS

Translated by ALAN WATTERS PAYNE

The work, *Constituciones Diocesanas del Obispado de Chiapa*, by the Bishop Francisco Núñez de la Vega, in-folio, was printed in Rome in 1702. It is in two Books, written in 1692 and 1695, filling 164 and 142 pages, besides the Index; Book II contains nine Cartas Pastorales. The entire tome is devoted to regulations for the conduct of church affairs, together with incident admonitions and exhortations to the clergy thereon. To assist and warn them in this, the Bishop introduced at two places descriptions of the "gentile" calendar, and of the all-prevailing nagual worship. The part on the Calendar constitutes Nos. 32-36 of the Preamble, on pages 9 and 10. The second part, on Nagualism, is the subject of the Ninth Pastoral Letter.

However, notwithstanding the work was by a Bishop, and printed at Rome, with all the needed imprimaturs, after it was off the press the two signatures containing this matter were ordered removed (as is understood, by the Inquisition), in accordance with the policy that nothing of the ancient religion should survive for propagation. The result was that while the work is exceedingly scarce, complete or incomplete, nearly all known copies came down, originally bound *without* these leaves. The interest and importance of what the Bishop saved for us (out of the quantity which, to our grief, he tells us was in his possession, in the native tongue, in manuscripts) has been long known; Brasseur and Brinton both wrote upon it.

It being a part of the plans determined upon for the Maya Society, to save students as much as possible of the burden of working through the voluminous mass of these old works in order to extract what is of interest to Indianists from the purely church or political matter, as well as to bring the contents of these very rare and almost inaccessible works, in Spanish, to where our growing Maya public can have them; and the copy of Núñez in the collection of the Society being fortunately one of the few complete ones, the matter in its entirety has been translated and here follows. A few paragraphs only, preliminary or telling of various miracles, have been condensed in wording; but nothing of substance is omitted.

Our material for the Chiapan Mayance people, the Tzeltals (or Tzentals) and Tzotzils, is exceedingly limited. Quite full manuscript dictionaries of each, from the 16th century, with scanty grammatical matter, are among the Society's collections, and under preparation for future publication. There are several volumes of early sermon texts, of linguistic use. Also some later material in Tzeltal, and some in Tzotzil. Also the data concerning Votan, the leader of the incoming people, given to us from another lost document once in the hands of Ordóñez y Aguiar, in connection with his relation of Palenque in the 18th century and other ancient records of the Quichés. Except for the lack of any early Kekchí dictionary (none is known to have been even written), and for the Mam of western Guatemala (in which we have almost nothing at all) we are much less well off for the Chiapan than for any other of the main Mayance branches.

FROM THE PREAMBLE

No. 31. (In this we are told that forty-two of the generations following the cessation of the tower of Babel were those of Cham (Ham), from whose fourth in descent, Indos, came the population of both the

East and West Indies, thence called Indians. That those of this line practiced evil magic and all manner of incests which had come down to them from Cain, after he had left the bosom of the faithful who followed Adam's teachings. From this line then there came those works of the devil, prognostications by the days, months and year, by births, and by the movements of the stars and planets. These descendants of Cham then passed by the straits of Anian to Florida, and were thus the first settlers of the Indies, and teachers of the customs that have since survived "through their Reportorios and superstitious Calendars.")

No. 32. In many of the towns of the Provinces of this Bishopric we find painted in their almanacs or calendars seven little black men used for divinations and prophecies, corresponding to the seven days of the week, commencing the count with Friday, as the Gentiles count by the seven planets, and which the Indians call *Coslahuntox* (which, as the Indians say, is the Devil with thirteen powers). He is shown seated and with horns on his head like those of a sheep. The Indians stand in great fear of this black one for there persists the memory among them of one of their first ancestors, an Ethiopian, who was a great warrior and very cruel, as it is related in a very ancient historical book written in the Indian tongue and which is in our possession. The people of *Oschuc* and of other villages of the plains, venerate highly one whom they call *cYalahau*, which means 'chief black man' (negro principal), or 'Lord of the negros'. This, it would seem, alludes to the cult of *Chus*, first son of Cham, of whom the gravest Doctors affirm that he was turned black as a punishment of God, and was, together with his descendants, founder and populator of Eastern and Western Ethiopia. They also worship as Lord and guardian of the town an Indian whom even until this day they call *Canamlum* in various provinces, alluding, it would seem, to the fourth son of Cham, and in some towns of *Soconusco* they have used, and still use, the names *Cham* and *Canan*. Various Indian families are known by this name, and he whom they call Lion of the town and its guardian is known by the name *Cham*. The names of his first descendants have been placed in their calendars, and their figures have been painted on paper, differentiating with rare characters between those who were totally gentiles and those who had turned Christian. They also had written in their tongue the Bird, Planet or Element, [nagual] through which each one worshiped the Devil, and apportioned the names of the first Gentiles among the days in order to indicate them, each with his animal, as guardians, which, they said, were the guardians of the new-born children.

No. 33. As the head of the calendar was one, named *Ninus* in Latin, who was the son of *Bel*, grandson of *Nimrod*, great-grandson of *Chus*, and great-great-grandson of Cham, who strengthened idolatry

among the Babylonians and Chaldeans. Today, in the most modern calendars the Latin name Ninus has been corrupted to Ymos, but always put in the first place. His worship alludes to the ceiba, a tree they always had in their plazas in front of the cabildo, underneath which they held their elections for alcaldes, and which they perfumed with braziers and considered very sacrosanct. For they held that their lineage was founded in the roots of this ceiba, and this idea was painted on a very old cloth. Various great Master Nagualists, who had been converted, have explained this and many other things.

No. 34. Votan is the third Gentile placed in the calendar and in the *Quadernillo Histórico* written in the Indian tongue he goes about naming all the residences and towns where he had been. Until the present time in the province of Teopisca there has resided a clan called the Votanes. They say, moreover, that he is the Lord of the *Palo hueco* (whom they call *Tepanaguaste*); that he saw the great wall (which is the Tower of Babel) which, by order of his ancestor Noah, was built from the earth to the sky; also, that he is the first man, sent by God to divide and apportion this land of the Indies; that there, where he saw the great wall, was given to each people its different tongue. They say that he was in Huehueta (which is the town of Soconusco) where he left some tapirs and a great treasure in a hidden house which he made by blowing, and appointed a woman, with several warders, to guard it. This treasure consisted of some earthen jars covered with the same clay, and of one piece containing stones on which were graven figures of the ancient Indians who are in the calendar, with *chalchihuites* (which are small green stones) and other superstitious figures. All of these were taken from a cave, and the Indian woman and her guardians gave them up, and they were publicly burned in the plaza of Huehuetan when we made our visit to the said Province in the year 1691. This Votan is much venerated by all the Indians and in some Provinces they hold him to be the heart of the towns.

No. 35. Been is the thirteenth Gentile of the Calendar, mentioned in the *Quadernillo Histórico* written in the Indian language, of which I speak. He left his name written on the standing stone (*piedra parada*) which is in the town of Comitlan. In the said book are clearly shown, by generations, the names of the first lords and their ancient ancestors, the wars in which one or the others took part, together with the soldiers of each side. It says that Chinax was a great warrior, and so he was pictured in all the calendars and painted books, with a banner in his hand. His story closes with the statement that he died by being hung and burned by the nagual of another Gentile. The book also makes mention of Lambat, who is the eighth Gentile of the Calendar. With these four,

Votan, Lambat, Been and Chinax is made the count by months and days in most of the calendars, because they are the ones who spread most in these provinces, and thus are the most celebrated and venerated as Saints, because they indicate the naguals. And because the curas must not forget to preach against them and their superstitions, they are included here in the order as they are in the calendars, corresponding to the twenty generations of lords. They are in the following order: Mox (alias Ninus), Ygh, Votan, Ghanan, Abagh, Tox, Moxic, Lambat, Molo (in others Mulu), Elab, Batz, Euob, Been, Hix, Tziquin, Chabin, Chic, Chinax, Cahogh, Aghual.

No. 36. In this section Núñez says that while other things are treated of in the Cuadernillo quoted they are not germane to the text of his discourse. The priests are warned, however, against the practice of nagualism, not only in the other provinces in his bishopric, but elsewhere, because, according to almanacs, calendars and other books in his possession, in different Indian languages, it is indicated that nagualism is practiced even as far as Mexico.

NINTH PASTORAL LETTER

(In which he exhorts his sheep that they should make true confession of their sins, and especially that the Indians should turn from the superstitious practice of nagualism.)

Sec. 1. To all, and to each of the rectors and curas and to the rest of our beloved faithful sons, greeting and benediction in our Lord Jesus Christ. Know ye that the Creator of Heaven and Earth . . . formed man in his image and semblance, etc. etc.

Sec. 2. . . . There are some bad Christians of both sexes, who, obfuscated by the darkness of error, forsake the light of truth, and forgetting the solemn promise they made to God when they were baptised are not ashamed to follow the school of the devil (whom they renounced), and who occupy themselves with evil arts, divinations, heresies, evildoings, enchantments, sorceries and other superstitions in order to read coming events and the future.

Sec. 3. These are the people who in all the provinces of New Spain are called nagualists. They are, in reality, not to be distinguished from superstitious and judiciary astrologers, who with vain and false sciences of the stars and planets boldly try to read the decrees of the divine disposition, which will declare themselves in their own good time. They regulate the births of men according to the courses and movements of the stars and planets, observing the hours and moments of the days and

months in which the infants are born, in order to prophesy for them and prognosticate the estate, condition and prosperous or adverse events of the lives of each. Also the manner by which they should govern their actions; which actually depends upon the free will of the man, and not upon the disposition of the stars, and planets, which have neither power, efficacy nor strength on free and future events to make them come about as they declare, nor in any other manner. And the worst of it is that these perverse men have written books of such omens by which they cheat the ignorant and stupid, who place the utmost credit in them, so that they await, believe in and hold infallible their prophecies.

Sec. 4. The nagualists practice the same with almanacs and superstitious calendars wherein they have set down, by their own names, all the naguals of stars, elements, birds, fish, brute beasts and dumb animals, with vain observations of the days and months, by which they determine at the birth of a child which naguals correspond to that day. This rite is preceded by various devilish ceremonies and an express consent by the parents (which is like an implicit pact between the children and the naguals, such as the former have to make), and after which is indicated the farm or place where, at the age of seven years, the boys meet their naguals to ratify this compact. In doing this they first make them disown God and His blessed Mother, preparing them at the same time so they will not be afraid nor cross themselves, after which they affectionately embrace the naguals, which through their devilish art seem as though tame and superstitiously affectionate, even though they be very ferocious beasts such as lions, tigers, etc. They persuade them craftily that that nagual is an angel of God, who gives it to them that they may have fortune, that it will favor them, help them and accompany them. Therefore they have to invoke it in all cases, businesses and occasions when they need its aid. Much to be deplored is the easy credulity of the Indians in following such deceits as these dogmatizing nagualists, whose perverse mistruths have sunk their roots deeply into almost all the people. For from their tender years they are made to believe that God gave them the naguals as guardian angels.

Sec. 5. (In this the Bishop exhorts his children not to follow these superstitious lies; telling them that God has given to each his guardian angel, who is spiritual and hence invisible; that thus the true angel cannot be these visible beings, the stars, elements and animals. In the margin we are told that Naguas means the language of Mexico, whence the Mexicans are called Naguales. "In the province of Soconusco the Reportorios are found with 9 signs, for the 4th of which is written Tzenteutl, whom the Mexicans held as goddess of the harvests.")

Sec. 6. It is such hellish teachers that the Indians call the wise men of the people, and thus they consult them in order that they should foretell their fortunes from their almanacs and superstitious calendars dictated by the Devil; and to ask them to indicate the naguals for their children between the day of their birth and the time of baptism. Many of them, even though they can neither read nor write, clearly hold in their memories the animals that correspond to the birthdays of the children, as they are written in the said calendars for all the months of the year. Through such cheats, who naturally are great sorcerers and wizards, all the Indians consult the Devil when they want to avenge themselves on those against whom they have grudges, using charms, enchantments and witcheries, killing many persons through such diabolical means, and wreaking inexpressable and wicked atrocities among the people.

(In the margin.) In the commonest Reportorios they have painted as the 7th sign, the figure of a man and a snake, whom they call **Cuchulchan**; the masters have explained this as being a plumed serpent that goes on the water. This sign corresponds to **Mexzichuaut**, which means Cloud-Serpent.

Sec. 7. Among the worst are those who pretend to be doctors and curers in the towns, or blood-letters, although in reality they are nothing but the greatest evildoers, sorcerers, enchanters and wizards, who, under the guise of curing cause sickness and death among all as often as they desire. They apply to the sick ones the methods which they call their medicine of herbs, etc., with blowing of the breath and hellish words, by which they invoke and command the devil, by virtue of the compacts they made with him, to aid them in the exercise of their wizardries. When they learn this office (which they call medicine), those who can neither read nor write commit to memory these words, receiving them from their masters who have them written in books, so that they learn them little by little. These Masters do not teach the words to one man at a time, but to three together, so that in practicing this art it would be difficult to discover the real author of the witchcraft, who brought it about by blowing into the air and speaking the secret words, or over feathers, herbs, sticks, etc. placed in the roads or elsewhere so that the one against whom the witchcraft was directed would tread on them. Thus the victim would ordinarily be taken with chills or fevers, pimples, horrible tumors, or ulcers. Also by causing to enter into the hidden parts, either the belly, head, throat, nostrils, arms, or any other part of the victim's body, the animal such as a frog, snake, small tortoise or centipede by which the sorcerer wished to accomplish his evil-doing. With the same breath-blowing and secret words they even could burn houses, seeded fields or farms. All this practice the Indians named "to make

sick". None of these three companions instructed in the office could do any witchery without first giving notice to the other two, and also notifying the Master. The same was necessary when they wished to raise the spell, which was called the "curing."

Sec. 8. Before giving instruction in these execrable deeds to one who was to become his pupil, the Master first made him reject God and the saints, and warned him never to invoke these, nor the Holy Mary, and to have no fear, because if he did fear he would never learn the craft of wizardry. With this warning the Master took him on different days to some forest, barranca, cave, field or other secret place where he made his pact with the Devil (which they call a bargain or engagement) and in the Tzendal language **Quiz**). In some provinces it is the custom to place the disciple on some great anthill, and the Master, after taking a position above him, calls upon a large snake which is colored white, black and red, and named mother of the ants. The latter emerges, accompanied by the ants and other small snakes, and they enter the joints of the hands, beginning with the left, emerging at the nostrils, ears or joints on the right side. The largest snake, making little jumps, enters the neophyte and leaves by the posterior part, and after they have left the boy they all return into the ant hill. After this they go upon the road, where they are met by a ferocious dragon in the form of a serpent, spitting fire from his mouth and eyes, and opening his mouth the dragon swallows the disciple, then ejects him from the rear. Then the master tells the boy that now he is initiated. These ceremonies continue from time to time through thirteen days. At the end the boy is asked what herbs he would prefer to use in enchanting, and taking up those he selects, the master delivers them to him and teaches him the words used in the exercise of his craft; with this difference: that when he wishes to lift the enchantment he must say "go thou from the place where thou art". But to place the enchantment he must say "I command ye to be in such and such a person", according to his intention to bewitch, or to have the delight he desired with men or women; or if he did not obtain it with that person, to work the enchantment.

Sec. 9. The words and ceremonies used in curing or enchanting are substantially the same in all the provinces. Before these malicious Indians (whom they call *Curanderos*) enter the house of the sick one they make up their mind, at the door, whether or not to try to cure the patient. The medicine man first greets the patient; and then after hearing the nature of the illness, he asks the patient if he sincerely desires to be cured. The reply being in the affirmative, and that the latter will help, the curer lays his hands on the ailment that causes the suffering, then, excusing himself, says that he will return again. Upon returning the

next day, after greeting the patient, he begins the curing with herbs, chewing them or pounding them on a stone or pressing them in his hands. Mixing a little water with the herbs, they anoint the affected part with it. In order that the maliciousness of their cure may not be discovered, they first recite a Pater noster, Ave Maria, Credo and Salve; then they go on blowing, either cold or hot, on the said part where the spell is, silently reciting the words the master had taught, inhaling or blowing out according to the nature of the spell they knew had been cast. With the third breath they make the third sign of the cross, silently saying the words commanded by virtue of the pact with the devil, and conforming with the intention they had of killing or bewitching the patient. After reciting these formulas they finish with the words, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, Amen, speaking them aloud that all may hear and understand them.

Sec. 10. The doctor or superstitious curer is called in the towns of some provinces *Poxta vanegs*, and the medicine *gsposxil*; and all that means to cure among the Indians is called with this name *Pox*, which also means to enchant. All the words derived from *pox* allude to the *nagual*, whom they call *Poxlon* in some provinces, in others *Patzlan*, and in many *Tzihuizin*, and who is much feared among the Indians. Through declarations and confessions of many confessed criminals it is clear to us that it is [i. e. that this word means] the Devil, who, like a ball of fire, goes through the air in the form of a star with a tail like a comet. According to their original and ancient tradition, the Indians say that this god *Poxlon* is one of the most important of those who in ancient times talked to them; and he was much venerated by the people of the province of *Tzendales*, who had him for innumerable years painted on the figured tablet already referred to. And after having received the Faith they fixed him (his image) on a beam of the church at the town of *Oxchuc*, accompanied by another idol of *Hicalahau* in the form of a ferocious negro, like a piece of sculpture or a painted bust, with human limbs; and five other figures, of buzzards and owls. We made our second visit to this place in 1687, at which time we discovered all these things, and at no little cost. We pulled the images down, burnt them and made a sermon to the people, and since then we have heard not the least rumor of these idolatrous practices.

Sec. 11. All these and an infinity of other evils of idolatry were introduced in the world through infernal teachings and traditions of the Devils. And the first who artfully wrote in books these superstitious sorceries dictated by the Devil, was *Cam* (even though son of a very holy patriarch, as *Noah* was), who, 72 years after the universal deluge, founded and populated the Kingdom of *China*, where he left among his descendants the teach-

ings, practices and superstitious sorceries of his diabolical doctrine. From there they came, even into these very remote regions, and these abominable fictions of Satan, who is the father of lies, have been introduced by one or another founder. They were credited by these Nagualists (and the Chaldeans and Egyptians were Nagualists in the substance of their superstitions) as absolute truth. And so they held as of divine gift all those things by which they believed they had received some result, fortune, favor, aid, succor or benefit; and they revered and worshipped them. In all their doings they were mindful of these persuasions and suggestions of the devil, and they chose through idols and naguals those things which they imagined, with their illusive fantasy, their fortune depended upon. Deluded by this trickery, in each event they chose a god; and then the time came when each person had his nagual, sometimes several, one of the stars, elements, birds, fish or a dumb beast, with others more vile and nasty, such as ants, rats, owls or bats. This misbelief spread widely and became so deep rooted that until this day the practice has been continued by means of almanacs, and calendars of the first pagans (gentiles). In the substance and method of prophesying by the numbers 13 and 20, the most modern methods agree with the most ancient practiced in Mexico. The only difference is in the meanings of the twenty characters, which vary with each province, either because of the differences of tongues, or because their founders were different. The bones of these pagans have been venerated to this day, as though they had been Saints, the people taking copal incense and flowers to the caves where they are set. Hence we have taken many and burned them, that this detestable sect of the Nagualists may be utterly eradicated.

Secs. 12-17. (In the two following pages the Bishop informs us that these practices have included many cases of transfigurations into the forms of the animal familiars, that have come to his knowledge. That they at times appear passing through the milpas as balls of fire; that various natives of both sexes have had, as confessed to him, intercourse with the naguals, as succubi or incubi. All of this in spite of the preaching that had been given them, then for nearly 200 years.

He tells us that this detestable superstition has been implanted as it were in their flesh and blood, and the being they receive from their parents; so that all the vigilance of the most devoted ministers had been unable to uproot it.) "If you, my children, do not put your whole hearts on this, God for your punishment will allow this plague of dragons, owls, monkeys, lions and tigers to continue. It is sins against our holy Catholic faith that most anger God, who thus commanded that idolatry should be destroyed by blood and fire: burn your idols, close the caves, destroy the hills where they are. Come and gain His favor, confessing all you see and know of this."

In Ciudad Real de Chiapa, May 24, 1698.

A KEKCHI WILL OF 1583

By ERWIN P. DIESELDOFF

TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Testamento rech M'a rixaq'l Di Hernantez camenac

Ce y-caba y-Dios Hauabeh, Dios caholbeh, Dios Spp Sancto.

Ta inticquib vi in-testamento, retal rahom in-chol, y-chum in-chol chirixc le vech, chirixc chic vi in-canabahem nac quin-camc.

Hun poot, hun ca, caib y-missa chi uxc chin-behen. Hun vec hoob y toston on-que; oxib y missa chi uxc chin-behen chirixc, ruquin ar, chi elc y cantela. Ruquineb pe hoob anchal y missa nan-țama. Ma-xic anchal ce rochoch y-Dios le hal, ruqn hun ach capupul, hun hacha, caib myssa na-țama chirixc; hun vech, chan yah, hun y-bailom, chan a yah, vanco bi.

Hun yocote chich, chire chan, a Luis Caal, racah vacunac, chanc a yah. Hun yocote chich, chire chan, Guo Yat, vi ho vi y-chacrab y babilom nac ocamc, chan a yah. Hun acha capupul, chire chan, Luis Caal, chan a yah. (Balthasar davilles Ruano.) Gu o chic, chanc, precara vi, chanc a yah. Guo qui nam xiyab neb chi quehec. Hun acha capupul chi quehec rech, chan a yah. Hun caxa chire, chan vi, Guo Yat, van y cerosohil, chan a yah; hun caxa mahi y-cerosohil chire, chan, Luis Cal, chan a yah; hun tep ic chire, chan, Luis Cal, chan a yah.

Hun pat in-pot van chi caz ruquin Guo Cuz laheb y tomin chi cacao, vahxatac cal rahlanquil y Babilom ixcabha. Hun vach ocanc ruquin Gaspar Tun, o-ccal chin-tojac, chanc; ox-cal chic y-țac ți, hotuc anchal chi cacao. Ox petet chic in-noc ve naquin, y qui-rac chin quemac, chan a yah.

Haut le in-choch peche be, chanc, ruquin anchal vauib, carnilas, tul, o, pața, turazno, coyou, tem-com vech chiruch y-Dios, ruquin inbabilom camenac, chan a yah Mathalena.

Chirucheb ah-valebc, alts, regitores, y cana-vinacquil y-ratin a yah. Chiruch Luis Cal cana-vinacex quin-țiba y ratin ce martes ce oxib y (cutan) y be y po teciempre mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres años. Gonzalo Metez alcalde, Don Domingo de Guzman alcalde, oxib regidor, alguacil mayor, Lorenzo mayor.

THE SAME AS SPOKEN TODAY

Testamento rech Magdalena rixaquil re Hernandez camenac

Sa ixcaba li Dios aguabej, Dios cajolbej, Dios espiritu santo.

Tin tiquib gui lin-testamento, na oc li retalil raj in-chol y chum in-chol chirixc li gue, chirixc chic lin-canajel nac tin-camc.

Hun poot, hun ca, caib li missa ta uxc sa in-been. Hun gue oob tuxtun tin-gé, oxib li missa chi uxc chin-been chirixc, riquin li arpa, chi elc li candela. Riquineb oob anchal li missa nin-ğama. Na-xic anchal sa rochoch li Dios li hal, riquin hun hacha capupul, hun hacha caib li missa na-ğama chirixc; hun guech, chan li yaj, hun re lin-belom, chan li yaj, guanco gui.

Hun yocoté chich, chiré chan, Luis Caal, recah ta-guaac hunac, chan li yaj. Hun yocoté chich, chiré chan, Gumeriendo Yat, yo gui li chacrab lin-belom naj ocamc, chan a yaj. Hun acha capupul, chiré chan, Luis Caal, chan li yaj. (Balthasar davilles Ruano.) Hun chic, chan, recaj aj gui, chanc li yaj. Hun aj gui nim xiyab chin-gue re. Hun acha capupul chin-gue rech, chan li yaj. Hun caxa chiré chan, aj gui Gumeriendo Yat, guan sa serosohic, chan li yaj; hun caxa, mahi serosohic, chiré chan, Luis Caal, chan li yaj; hun tep ic, chiré chan, Luis Caal, chan li yaj.

Hunpat lin-poot guan chi acas riquin Gumersindo Cuz lajeb li tumin chi cacao, guaxac-cal rajlanquil, Bailom ix-caba. Hun acach ocanc riquin Gaspar Tun, o-ccal chin-tojac gui, chanc; ox-cal chic ğac li ği, hotuc anchal chi cacao. Oxib petet chic lin-noc, gue, na-quin ti quirac tin-quemoc, chan li yaj.

Haut lin-choch chiré be, chanc, riquin anchal guakib, camelia, tul, o, pata, durasno, coyou, temkank rech chiru li Dios riquin lin-belom camenac, chan li yaj Magdalena.

Chirucheb ajgualc, alcaldes, regidores, li canaguinquil li ratin a yaj. Chiruch Luis Caal canaguincex, lain tin-ğiba li ratin, sa martes, chi sa oxib li cutan, sa be li po diciembre, mil quinientos y ochenta y tres años. Gonzalo Mendez alcalde, Don Domingo de Guzman alcalde, oxib regidor, alguacil mayor, Lorenzo mayor.

TRANSLATION

The Testament of Magdalena, wife of Hernandez, deceased.

In the name God the Lord, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit. I begin now my testament, I set it down in writing, that is my wish, concerning what is mine, to go to those I leave behind when I die. One huipil and one metate, for two masses to be given for me. One vec, five tostones I give, three masses are to be said for me for it, with the harp, and let the candles be brought. With these five masses altogether I have asked. There goes to the house of God all the corn, with

one capupul axe, one axe; two masses she asks for it; one for me, says the sick one, one for my husband, says the sick. We are present.

One yocoté spade, she says besides, to go to Luis Caal, so that he can eat, says the sick. One yocoté spade, she says besides, to Gumerindo Yat; so was the saying of my husband, when he died, says the sick. One capupul axe to go, she says, to Luis Caal, says the sick; one more, she says, to replace it, says the sick. Only one large weaving comb I have given him already; one capupul axe I gave him, says the sick. One chest also to Gumerindo Yat, which is finished, says the sick. One chest, not finished, she says is for Luis Caal, says the sick. One lot of pepper she says for Luis Caal, says the sick.

And now my huipil, for which is owing with Gumerindo Cuz ten tomins in cacao; eight times twenty (cacao beans), Bahilom is his name. One turkey that entered with (i. e. was brought by) Gaspar Tun, 100 I paid for that, she says. 60 more the price of the dog; all being counted in cacao. Three rolls besides, of my cotton, which is mine, and which, if I get well, I will weave, says the sick.

However my land, on the street, she says, with six trees, camelia, banana, aguacate, guayava, peach, c'oyou, in order to help before God with my dead husband, says the sick one, Magdalena.

Before us, the chief men, *alcaldes* and *regidores*, as witnesses of what the sick one says. Before Luis Caal as witnesses. I wrote her words on Tuesday the 3rd day in the course of the month December, the year 1583. Gonzalo Mendez, *alcalde*; Don Domingo de Guzman *alcalde*; three *regidores*, the *alguacil mayor*, Lorenzo the *mayordomo*.

Gumerindo Mendez, scribe.

The foregoing Will was found among the papers of the convent at Cobán, having been preserved by the Dominican friars as being a title-deed to a piece of land on which it is believed the Cobán church now stands. The differences between the text as first given above, and as spoken in the Kekchí of today, are not great: *bahilom*, *belom*, husband; *vinac*, *guing*, person. The names of the officials were evidently not written by themselves, but by the Secretary. Three words in the text are no longer understood: *chum*, *vec*, *canavinac*. E. P. D.

Transcribed at Cobán, Nov. 26, 1921.

Notes

The spelling both of the original and the modern forms, has not been changed from Señor Dieseldorff's copy. There are, however, a good many interesting changes in both words and pronunciation, when one compares the earliest Kekchí, as given

in the Cárdenas grammar, and the present; quite as we find in all our Mayance languages. There has been a steady Hispanizing influence, as seen particularly in the development of an article, adapted to the Spanish *el*. The shifting between **v**, **gu**, **hu**, for the bi-labial **w**, is neither old nor new: one today says Watemala, and also hears Guashington. The change of the dissyllable **vinac**, **vinic**, to the modern monosyllable **vink** is very clear in Kekchí, but seems restricted to that only; we still have **vinac** in Quiché, **vinic** in Maya. The replacement of the early preposition **se**, 'in, to,' by **sa**, is a definite time-change since Cárdenas. Still more marked is the change of the 3rd pers. sing. poss. **y-** to a quite clear **x-**, as in **x-caba**, his name, for **y-caba**.

The meaning of **canavinac** is supplied by Pokonchí, where it is very common, for 'witness.' **Ru-chum in-cuxl** would mean in Pokonchí, the sadness of my heart, so that **y-chum in-ch'ol** here may merely supplement **Rahom in-ch'ol**, my heart's, my feelings' desire. The replacement of the older and more idiomatic **canabahem**, those to be left behind, by **canahel**, those I am now leaving, is but another instance of the steady loss of the old constructions. It is the case in every branch, that in the 16th century grammars and texts we find the real language, as it was, and used in its own spirit. In the 17th century it is still good, and only starting to be formalized, and losing the effect of the older Indian environment, as the Spanish system began to settle down. In the 18th the languages all began to be criticised, as such, and for what they "ought to be"; in the 18th a great deal was lost for lack of the old things and ways to talk about, and also conscious changes were introduced, "to regularize them," as in Beltran's wholly incorrect substitution of the subjunctive present form in **-ic**, as a "correct Maya indicative." In the 19th the attempts at new grammars merely distorted and made real penetration into the nature of the various languages practically impossible, through them. Were it not for the very great mass of very early material we have to fall back upon, a science of Mayance linguistics might well be rated hopeless. — W. G.

GLYPH STUDIES

From Cobán in Guatemala, one of our Fellows M. S., Señor E. P. Dieseldorff, sends quite a little further data on the Cauac and thunderbolt signs, discussed in the QUARTERLY for December. He sends a sketch of the *yerba llantén*, called "dog's tongue," **rak'-tji**, in the Zúñiga and Morán 17th cent. ms. Pokom dictionaries, which further define the Pokom term as used for the *lengua del trueno*, the thunderbolt, the tongue of the rain-storm, the Cauac. The sketch is clearly one of our common roadside weed, the plantain, *plantago*. The letter further says:

"I believe that the dog represents not the lightning itself, but the rain (see further *Kunst u. Religion der Mayavölker*, 1926, plate 3). The Aztec glyphs on which Dr. Seler based his explanation, that the dog represents the lightning, show not only lightning but also the thunder

or rain-cloud; so that the glyph does not prove his contention, leaving in doubt whether the lightning or the rain-cloud refers to the dog.

"To the Indian the thunder is of no importance, but the rain is of the greatest, especially after the corn is planted. The many whistles in the form of a dog, or with a dog's head, I explain as whistles to call the sky-dog to come and see who is blowing the whistle. These clay whistles emit a sound just like the bark of a dog; so when the Indians saw the thunder-cloud approaching, they imitated the bark of a dog, so that the sky-dog should come and bring the rain. (Just as we nowadays use gunpowder 'barkings' to bring the precipitation, save that the Indian personified this like all else, while we call it 'science.'—W. G.)

"The animal with fire in the hands, which you explain as the dog, I take to be the 'monkey-lion,' *mico-león*, as this animal is drawn with the sign of night, *Akbal* over the eye, and the dog is not a nocturnal animal. The dog also has nothing that makes him seem like lightning, but the *mico-león* has. I have hunted him at night and seen him jump from one branch in a tree, high up in the top branches, jumping two and fro with lightning speed. The glyph animal on Dres. p. 36 is also drawn with a long tongue protruding and hanging down the side; when the *mico-león* is shot, the long tongue protrudes from the mouth, and I was surprised to notice this special feature. I think there can be no doubt that the *mico-león* is here meant, and not the dog. The *mico-león* is called *k'ak'-roc-max*, the monkey with the red legs, but as the fire is brought in connection with this animal the old meaning may be: the monkey with paws beating the thunder. In the Aztec myths the *mico-león* jumped into the fire and his hide was burned, which is probably taken from the brown color of the pelt, which looks as if it had been burnt.

"In Kekchí the thunder is called *kak*, the a being long, whilst the lightning is *xeloc*. When it thunders they say: *x'ekanc li kak*, the thunder moves. However, the hidden sense may be that the cliffs are moving, because the high white lime cliffs are also called *kak*, the same as the thunder. The Kekchi believe that these cliffs are their old gods, called *Kak*, or *Tzultacá*, and that the lightning is caused by the *Tzultacás* when fighting amongst themselves."

Señor Dieseldorff's comment on the impropriety of the *akbal* night-sign with the dog, brings us around again to the very same confusion between *Oc* and *Xul* glyphs discussed in the Glyph Dictionary. Not until the Dictionary was in type, and all the *Oc* and *Xul* forms paralleled, did it become evident that, although in cases mingled and even substituted one for the other (as in the two undoubted *Xul*-month-signs with *Oc* forms), the *Oc*, the dog, was beneficent, never with night or destruction elements incorporated or affixed, and was probably some beneficent celestial being, while the *Xul* was a marauding terrestrial animal. (The *akbal* sign with the thunderbolt animal

in the Dresden, might also denote only the darkness of the thundercloud, whence the lightning comes, and not night-time.) With no pre-knowledge at all of Señor Dieseldorff's points above, his distinctions between the two animals match mine between the two glyphs, completely. The **Oc** and **Xul** are definitely inter-tangled and yet distinct; and so are also the dog and the monkey-lion in these myths. At every step now we see mythology and culture (with incident old Maya history) developing out of our present studies.—W. G.

Concerning the Kekchí calendar in the December number, the letter also says that the planting therein of corn in Nov.-Dec. proves the calendar as one of the hot lands, like Cajabón. The corn is there planted at that time, and called *sakki guaj* (*sac-vah*), white corn. Also the *nok*, cotton, is a hot-lands crop, of Cajabón, and not uplands as of Lanquín. Further, "the language employed is however not pure Kekchí, but Chol or Maya words are intermixed." This again fits the lowland region. I had given the name Lanquín to the ms. calendar only because it was gotten and sent to me from that town; the name should now be changed, and the Calendar placed as a lowland document.

Another new member writes, suggesting that glyph G5 is to be found in the inscription on the Leyden plate, in the very date and position where this glyph should occur, if at all; that is, just above the month-sign Yaxkin. See Morley, *Introd.* 198, and Teeple, 1930, p. 43. This is quite a find, and seems correct beyond a doubt. The date is 8.14.3-1-12, 1 Eb, 0 Yaxkin, 32 days ($3 \times 9 + 5$) after the tun-ending. Morley's *Introduction* was written before the work on the Supplementary Series was done, so that in trying to explain the glyph-signs he passed up the numeral 5, as "ornamental" (the usual refuge where one does not know what a glyph-element means), ignored the string of dots, and interpreted the rest of the G5 glyph as "an archaic zero-sign." Leyden plate evidence both on the Supplementary Series use, and Thompson's nine successive continuing forms of the G-glyph, is quite worth while.



NATABAL NU-TINAMIT

THE MEMORY OF MY VILLAGE: FROM THE QUCHE

Chilá pa nu-tinamit, C'o hun uŷilah nu-lok' Arerí xun-bii cheré: At nu-lok' rahavaxel.	There in one far distant village, Lives a dear belovéd object Of my prayers so oft repeated: Thou, my heart's dear longings' mistress.
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Chilá c'oh hun vikobal Chire quin-uc'aah nu-cogih; Chilá xin-rikoh hun ŷih: Mahunbi xin-to varal.	There too stands a fairest altar Where I set on high my flowers; There were given me responses: Never now I hear them spoken.
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Chilá ronohel vinac, Culan, copoh, ali, Ru-naoh aré cas-qui, Mahun quii ri quisinac.	There where all the goodly townsfolk, Be they married, young girls, maidens, Hold their understanding truly; Sweetness never there has ending.
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Man-c'ota u-patan ri puac Chiruvach ca-vinakil; Mahun igel catinvil (?) Ronohel hunam ri akah.	Never there counts silver highly, There among our village people; Never evil, never slothful, All are like the bees in working.
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Ronohel ri isquin ali, Are ri palah, coxob; Hunam rucuhun chicop, Locolah quetzal ru ir (?).	All the maidens there are given Cheeks as fair as achiotes; Oftentimes they shine as rosy, As the quetzal's treasured feathers.
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Noh varal cax nu-holom C'oh mas ri abanol xe-vi; Acal, ixok, ri achi Cas nim enbam ri pocom.	Here, ah here, the head is aching, Far away is virtue keeping; Children, women like the menfolk Live and think of evil only.
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Manqui-mescotah tinamit, Areri aqueri xolxan; Areri isquinah ruxlam, Qui-el chacap patac ticon.	Ne'er forgotten is my village, Ne'er, alas, its nooks retiring; Where the balsam fills one's spirit, Passing borne amidst the gardens.
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Natabal ri nima-k'ih, Mi hubic qui-el pa holom; Atoc min-c'oh nuyon, Natabal minca nu-sah.	Still I hear the festal gath'rings, Nor in aught my heart they're leaving; Oh, may cease my lonely days, as Memory ends at last with living.
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IXTLAVACAN QUICHE CALENDAR OF 1854

Translated by ETHEL-JANE W. BUNTING

From the manuscript of Vicente Hernández Spina

The population of Ixtlavacan is 21,000 souls. The town lies twelve leagues southwest of the ancient Quiché capital and three leagues south of Totonicapán. No vestige or monuments record the existence of any inhabitants prior to those of today. After Tecum Umán had been killed by the Spanish conqueror, Pedro de Alvarado, and the Quiché nation subdued, the capital had to suffer the usual fate and its consequent oppressions. To evade these, a large part of the population emigrated to the south to the mountain fastnesses where they might live independent and free from persecution.

The Ixtlavacans took themselves to what is known as the Totonicapan highlands, where they found a deep and almost inaccessible ravine, cut into steep barrancas and filled with crags. This they chose for their home, and in the caves under the great rocks made their dwellings. The place was later discovered by the zeal of the early missionaries, but faced with the difficulty of trying to have the Ixtlavacans removed to some more accessible location, they arranged to have built on a small prominence in the middle of the ravine, a church dedicated to Santa Catalina Mártir.

The topography of the place gave true isolation to the inhabitants. Living to themselves, made robust by the very austerities of their surroundings, dedicated exclusively to agriculture, loyal to marriages which were contracted almost in their infancy, they multiplied in a state of real independence. They brought down with them through the centuries their own spirit, their religion and its primitive customs, in the very midst of their conquerors. To know the Ixtlavacans is to have known the Quiché nation; and if we think of religion as a natural sentiment, the Quichés of the conquest were not lacking therein.

The existence of their priests, whom they called *aj-k'ij*, and their calendric tables with their particular signs, confirm this statement. They regarded the world as under the dominion of two equally powerful principles: one wholly good, living in the heights, and the other evil and master of the earth. They believe in the immortality of the soul, although in a manner wholly material. They acknowledge other lower *genii* below the two great ruling principles, and with these *genii* they also associate the souls of their *aj-k'ij* and of their honored ancestors.

Division of the days into good, bad and indifferent.

Noj: a propitious day, dedicated to the presiding genius of the soul. On this day they pray that the suppliant and his family may be endowed with good judgment.

Tijax: good, the same as the preceding.

Cavok: indifferent.

Ajpú: indifferent.

Imux: of ill omen; the priests of the Sun, the *ajk'ijes*, on this day pray to the spirits of evil against their enemies.

Ik': of ill omen, as the preceding.

Ak'bal: of ill omen; the *ajk'ijes* seek the shrines against their enemies.

C'at: the same as the above.

Can: again the same.

Caméy: again the same.

Queh: a fortunate day, on which beneficial things are asked for the suppliant.

K'anel: a fortunate day, sacred to the genii of agriculture; on this are supplicated all those things that serve man's sustenance.

Toj: a bad day; unfortunate he who is born thereon; by inevitable destiny he is doomed to be perverse.

Tzi: a bad day; on it is sought the undoing of one's enemies.

Batz: a bad day, on which sicknesses, and particularly paralysis, is prayed to fall on one's enemies.

Ee: a good day; on this day contracts of marriage are entered into, preceded by many sacrifices to the benign powers.

Aj: again a good day, and also consecrated to the gods of agriculture, and to those presiding over the flocks and domestic animals.

Ix: a good day. This day is sacred to the genii of the mountains and forests; on it protection is sought for their flocks and animals at the favor of those genii who rule over the wolves and other carnivorous beasts.

Tziquin: most excellent of days. On this day double offerings are made; in the church of the good and Supreme God and to the saints in the churches; also offerings in the caves, the profound barrancas, and in deep and sombre woods. On this day they pray for all that is beneficial and useful to man; also pardon for all sins against the two great powers, the Good and the Evil. This is also the day for the conclusion of marriage contracts, and for the beginning of all important affairs.

Ajmak: also a most excellent day, the same as the one before. It is also especially consecrated to the genii presiding over good health.

As I have said above, the Ixtlavacans worship two great principles, of the Good and of the Evil. The Good is represented by the Sun who presides over the day, the Father of light, and fructifier of the earth, which in their language is called *k'ij*. The Evil spirit is *Juyup*, master of the riches of the world; he is represented as in human form, but horrible beyond imagination; he is omnipotent to favor his worshippers with earthly goods, and to harm those who refuse him worship. Since then they adhere to and recognize these two equally independent and sovereign powers, they follow the same division of good and evil gods or subordinate genii; and for an equal reason the days assigned to all these are counted as either good or bad in their omens.

The tables and plans I have given contain their religious system, as above. The days in succession form a Calendar, made up of months of 20 days each, the days as shown in the tables marking the beginning of these months. The year in this religious system has no relation to the astronomical year, but serves only to indicate the destiny or lot that falls to each man, bound absolutely to the day whereon he is born. This count they carry forward with scrupulous accuracy.

Today, the 12th of August in our calendar [in 1854], is the 1st day of *Ajpú* for the priest of the Sun; after it follow in succession, 20 *Cavok*, 19 *Tijax* (etc. around to) 2 *Imux*, counting to the left. The Ixtlavacans have had no signs or characters wherewith to paint their ideas, that is, no writing. Thus it is that the priests who carry on without error the counting of these good and evil days of their months, assigning to each its respective good and evil influences, enjoy the fullest consideration among their own people.

I spoke above of the astronomical year, which is inexact in this respect, in that their 'year' begins on the 1st of May, in the middle of Spring. In this year 1854 the cabalistic year begins, on May 1st, with the sign *Noj*. The priests, the *ajk'ijab*, have two ways of counting their year. In one of these the days *Noj*, *Tijax*, *Cavok*, *Ajpú* and *Imux* recur nineteen times. Another way of counting is to continue successive months of 20 days, so that *Noj*, *Tijax*, *Cavok*, *Ajpú* and *Imux* each begin a year of nineteen months, while the other signs head years of eighteen months each.

By this calendar count is also indicated the days on which these same priests come to the church, being on the most excellent days, *Ajmak*, *Tziquin* and *K'anel*. So punctually do they observe these days of their Calendar, that whereas the Sundays and solemn fiestas of our religion find the church empty, on the good days of their almanac they are crowded with worshippers who burn incense, filling the pavement with candles and chanting the responses. With these Catholic appearances they have long deceived the parish curates who did not understand their language,

and could not note the impious mingling of Christian names with those of the spirits and Manes of their ancient priests, as appears in the adjoined invocation.

The manuscript from which the above is translated belonged to Brasseur de Bourbourg, and is now in the Brinton collection in the University Museum in Philadelphia, to the courtesy of whose Director we owe our being able to present it to the readers of the QUARTERLY. The author also left a brief grammar of Quiché.

The day-names as given by Hernández do not differ essentially even in spelling from those in the different Quiché dictionaries, from the 16th century downwards, save in the odd spelling of **Bacbal**, a clear error, for the day **Ak'bal**. The spellings have in each case been standardized.

The present manuscript also contains several carefully written tables and concentric circles of the days in their order, which however add nothing to the information in the text; thus are not reproduced. The invocation, which is in both Quiché and Spanish version, is exceedingly curious, but for reasons of space has had to be held over to the next issue.—Ed. note.

POKONCHI CALENDAR

THE 20 DAYS

Mox, el ronrón (coleóptera) ; beetle.	Ej, bueno! concedido, good!
Ik, vientos y frios (del Kekchí), wind, cold.	Aj, carrizo (graminea), reed-grass.
Nakawal.	Ix.
Kat, fuego, fire.	Tzikin, pájaro, bird.
Kan, las obras, works.	Ajmak, piedra-pomez (lava).
Kemej, los tartamudos, stammering.	Noj, la sabiduría y la medicina; wisdom, medicine.
Kiej, venado, deer.	Tijax, oración (tii); prayer.
Kanil, la hermosura, beauty.	Kojok, le tempestad, el trueno; tempest, thunder.
Toj, el pago, pay.	Aj-pujm, el cazador; hunter.
Tzi, el perro, dog.	
Watş, el mono, monkey.	

THE 18 MONTHS

Yax, the Maya <i>verde</i> , green.	Dec. 28	Muguan.	Apr. 27
Sak, nieve, snow.	Jan. 17	Cham, arrow.	May 17
Tzi, dog.	Feb. 6	Sak-kojk, white chilcayote, gourd.	June 6
Kchip, el último trueno, last thunder.	Feb. 26	Ojl, a tree with light wood (ligera).	June 26
Chantemak.	Mar. 18	Kanjalam.	July 16
Uniu.	Apr. 7		

Makux.	Aug. 5	Tzikin-kij, time of the birds.	Oct. 24
Kaseú, a slender palm-tree		Mox-kij, time of the insects.	Nov. 13
of the cold region.	Aug. 25	Tik-cheik, stem of the tree.	Dec. 3
Kanasí.	Sep. 14	Kaxik-laj-kij, the days of	
Kanajal, ripeness of the		trials, días penosos.	Dec. 23-27
corn.	Oct. 4		

The foregoing Calendar was sent to me in June 1914, by Señor Vicente A. Narciso, as obtained by him in San Cristóbal, Verapaz, and with a notation that many of the Indians of today, *bastante de ellos*, know both the day and month names, "but neither remember nor know the corresponding hieroglyphs." I have kept his spellings.

The etymologies are of course those of common present Pokonchi meanings of the words as found, but the list of day-names is substantially the Quiché series, translated as Pokonchi. See the Quiché names below, with their proper meanings, the only interesting variation being in *Ah-puhm*, the hunter, 'user of the blowpipe,' correct both for Quiché and Pokonchi. Of real importance, however, is the fact that in six cases the Pokonchi, as well as the Quiché, have names which preserve the meanings standard in the general calendar, where the Yucatecan Maya names have lost that meaning. These are the days Deer, Dog, Monkey, Reed, Bird, Thunder-storm. *Kat*, fire; *Kan*, works; *Kemeh*, stammering; *Kanil*, beauty; *Tihax*, prayer, are plainly the Quiché *C'at*, lagartija, iguana; *Can*, serpent; *Camey*, death; *K'anel*, rabbit; *Tihax*, flint. Of the two names untranslated, *Nakawal* is evidently mis-heard *Akbal*, and *Ix* is Quiché for Tiger. The entire list is therefore but another confirmation of the fact that over two-thirds of the *Maya* day-names are archaic words which have lost, or do not represent the ancient day-meanings, just as seven of these Quiché-Pokonchi names, preserving the old values in Quiché, have lost those meanings in current Pokonchi.

The series of month-names is equally interesting; it should be compared with the Kekchi series reproduced in the last number of the *QUARTERLY*. As given by Señor Narciso it differs two days in position from the Kekchi, but agrees with the Maya in beginning Pop on July 16th. The 'days of trial' come between *Mol* and *Ch'en*, and cause the Pokonchi year to begin Dec. 28th. I am convinced that somewhere in this matter of the beginning of the Yucatecan year close to midsummer, the Guatemalan-Chiapan at Pascua de Navidad, the winter solstice (not Easter, as Brinton translated it), and the Mexican somewhere about March 1st, lies the solution of a great deal of our calendar difficulties, as well as the key to very definite historical questions, and the meeting of national and cultural régimes.

Only one of the Pokonchi month-names is the same as in Quiché-Cakchiquel, namely *Tziquin-k'ih*, the time of birds. This is sixteenth in the Pokonchi, but thirteenth in the others. Now the authorities differ much as to the beginning of the Quiché year; Brinton says that "most of the authorities" place it at Feb. 1st, although Gavarrete puts it definitely at Dec. 24, which comes close to our present Pokonchi list, and the Kekchi month *Zihora* at Dec. 21st. But if 'bird-time' began about Oct. 24 in the *Altos* both of Quiché and Verapaz, and was counted as the 13th Quiché month, this would bring their year beginning about Feb. 26th, close to the Mexican, as generally given. So that here again we touch the same Quiché-Nahua similarities referred to in the *Maya Glyph Dictionary*, pages 39 etc., and also seen in the 1st and 17th Quiché month-names *Tacaxepual* and *Iṭcal*, transplanted from the 2nd and 18th.

Finally, to add to our present confusion, and also to our problems, historical and other, Zúñiga in his 16th century ms. Pokonchi dictionary gives us the identical name *Canasi*, so far found nowhere else, for the period from June 4-23, five vinals earlier than the Narciso list; and then further, Morán had and used this identical Zúñiga volume in 1710 to copy from, changing over the northern Pokonchi forms to the southern Pokomán around Lake Amatitlán, and then not only omitted the *Canasi*, but gave us two well-known *Maya* names, *Mol* and *Muan*, in their proper Landa Yucatecan positions, Dec. 1-21, and Apr. 20-May 9.!!

If any more were needed as to the possibilities of comparative research into all these matters, using *all* the Mayance branches, as well as the dangers of offhand built-up etymologies based on one regional tongue only, and always offered by those who, possessing some modern knowledge of that one, explain everything by that, never even trying to go outside, nor willing for the drudgery that such only safe ways require—this present Narciso list can well suffice.

The Quiché list is:

Imox, swordfish.	K'anel, rabbit.	Tziquin, bird.
Ik, wind.	Toh, the god Toh.	Ahmaç, ? owl.
Akbal, darkness.	Tzi, dog.	Noh, great.
C'at, lizard.	Batz, monkey.	Tihax, flint.
Can, serpent.	E, tooth, edge.	Caok, storm.
Camey, death.	Ah, reed.	Hunahpu, user of blow-
Queh, deer.	Ix, or Iṭ, tiger.	pipe, master of power or magic.



ERAS OF THE THIRTEEN GODS AND THE NINE GODS

Book of Chumayel, pages 42-48

By WILLIAM GATES



Ti hach kabet ubel yocsabal ti-ol, lay utunil¹ tu-p'atah ca-yum citbil; lay ukamchi, lay baalche² licil ca-ḡicic vay con ah-tepal-vincob. Hach paybenḡil ukultabalob hahilob kuob, laob-i tunob; cumlahic hahal ku cay-yumil ti Dios,³ uyumil caan y luum, hahal ku. Bacacix yax-kuob-e havay-kuob; ḡ'oc ut'an ukultabalob, kaspahiob tumen *ubendision* uyumil caan, ca ḡ'oci ulohol balcah, ca ḡ'oci ucaput-cuxtal hahal ku, hahal Dios, ca ucicit'antah caan y luum. Ti kaspahi akul, maya vinicex-e, xet'avol ta-kulex lae.

U-kahlay cab tukinil, lay tumen ḡ'iban lae, tumen ma kuchuc tu-kin umeyah lay hunob lae, picil-t'anob lae, utial katabal u-chi maya vinicob-i vay yohelob bix sihanilob eḡ'lic cab, vay ti peten lae. Ti peten.

Commentary

1. **Tun-il** is given in all the dictionaries as meaning 'precious stone,' common stone being **tunich**; this must then mean the 'stones of our records,' tablets of the law. **Ca-yum Citbil** I have translated, our Supreme Father; in every case I have so far found where **Citbil** is used, the context agrees with the interpretation as derived from the archaic verb **ci**, to speak, and hence used for God as giver of the law, and as distinguished from the ordinary word for god as an object of worship, **Ku**.

2. The phrase **lay ukamchi, lay baalche** is exceedingly interesting. Mediz Bolio translates, 'the hard woods, the animals,' which is neither correct nor does it fit this context at all. **Chi** is mouth, not wood, which is **che**. There are two words, **kaam** and **kam**, as distinct to the Maya ear as comb and come are to ours, although the distinction between the double and single vowels is constantly ignored in writing, and in print; it should not be, and when we can get a final Maya dictionary, should be cared for. **Kaam** now means not hard, like wood, but strong, severe, as a heavy wind, harsh words; **kam** again forms a number of compounds, given in the Motul, which give this passage its importance. **Kam-yaah** means to catch sickness from another, or be infected by his vices; **kam-ich** are the 'first fruits' of the ripening tree; **kam-koch** to go warranty for another; **kam-numya** to undergo suffering for another; **kampahesah**, to assist the load onto another's back; **kam-tabil** is carrying fodder to the animals; **kamchi** means breakfast, *desayuno*; and **kam-nicte**, to carry flowers, means to marry, also marriage—it being the man who carries them: "**biikinx akam-nicte amehen?** when did your son marry?" **Baalche, balche** (*written both ways*) of course means wine, and also the animals.

It is curious and noteworthy as showing the difficulties of this old Maya, and the need of the utmost pains in the same kind of detailed philological studies where-with we have our Sanskrit, our Egyptian and the rest, that **kaam-chii-t'an** means to speak rudely, so that if it were not for the evident context we might carelessly take **kamchi** as the double vowel, and translate, 'harsh talk and animals,' instead of what

TRANSLATION

Very necessary is the task of making known this, the great stone¹ which our Supreme Father left, this the bread received, this the wine,² wherewith we, the men of royalty here render honor. Greatly exalted in worship the true gods, those ones, the stones. Thereupon there took his seat the true god, our father Dios,³ the father of heaven and earth, the true god. Besides that those, the first gods, were finite gods; the term of their worship ended, they were condemned by the benediction of the father of heaven when the salvation of the world was completed, and there was completed the resurrection of the true god, the true Dios, when he blessed heaven and earth. Condemned your worship, ye Maya men, without hope your religion, your worship.

The record of the earth in that time, that was by the paintings, because there had not arrived the time of making these sheets, these many-leaved volumes, in order to ask the Maya men here as to their knowledge of how the company of the settlers founded the land here in this country. In the country.

must be the true meaning, the 'bread and wine' of the ancient ceremony wherein the princely lineage worshipped. These ceremonies must have been many, and the memory or consciousness of them must have been in Hoil's mind as he transcribed meticulously, letter by letter, and word-phrase by word-phrase, his now lost originals. In certain cases they were successively addressed to the four quarters, with or without their symbolically costumed representatives; in these the native priest poured the **balche**, successively to the four directions, saying at each, **Oxtescun**; and finally gave it to drink to the chief postulant, saying to him, **Oxtescun**. So that in spite of *our* immediate reaction (that of us who think that no one got truth save through *us*), the non-Catholic character of the ceremony is shown, by this giving the **balche** wine to the worshippers. Of course Mithraism had its "atonement supper," and so have others, outside the Christian line of transmission. But to find it clearly indicated here in these old Chumayel texts—again opens doors of invitation to research.

3. It is to be noted all through these texts, the same as everywhere in Indiandom past *and present*, that the adherence in fact to the old gods and old beliefs is constantly hidden by the introduction of references to Dios and the Christian saints—behind all whom the Indian always sees the figures of his own. This chapter tells of the passage of a period; probably of several different ones blended into one story. It is cosmogonical, with intervening earth-destructions, and the overwhelming of one set of ruling gods by another (as with Ra and Amen); it also deals, confusedly, with the Three, the Thirteen and other Ahau katun shifts in just pre-Spanish times; and then with the change from the Maya time to the Spanish. After which we are regularly given a final, veiled, encouragement that the "oppressors" shall be overthrown, and the "true lineage" vindicated in a new era of "Maya peace." It is all quite in line with this, to say here that the old gods were finite; all antiquity believed that the gods of "great world-periods were finite—below the unchanging Supreme; whom even the Spanish writers acknowledge was held among the Mayas as "without form."

Ichil buluc ahau,⁴ tii ca hoki Ahmucen-cab, kaxic uvichob oxlahun ti ku; maix yoheltahob, ukaba, halil-i u-cic y umehenob-e yalahob, ti maix chacan-hii uvich tiob xan. T-uchi ix ca g'oci⁵ u-yahalcab-e, maix yoheltahob binil ulebal.

Caix chuci Oxlahun ti Ku tumenel Bolon ti Ku,⁶ tii ca emi kak, ca emi tab, ca emi tunich y che, ca tali ubaxal-che y tunich, caix chuci Oxlahun ti Ku, y caix paxi upol, caix lahi uvich, caix tubabi, caix cuchpachi-hi xan, caix colabi ucangel, y uholsabac, ca ch'abi ix kukil ix yaxun, y ca ch'abi ibnel puyem viil y upucsikal puyem sicil, y puyem top', y puyem buul.

Utep'ah inah, yax-bolon-g'acab; ca bini tu-yoxlahun tas caan, caix tun culhii umat'g'il y uni ubaclil-i, vay yokolcab-e, ca tun bin upucsikal tumenel Oxlahun ti Ku, maix yoltahob binci upucsikal viil lae. Caix hullahi ixmayumob y ahnumyaob, ixma-ichamob, cuxanob ix ti minan upucsikalob, caix mucchahii tumen uyam-suc, tuyam kaknab, hun vat'g'-hail, hulom-haail; ⁷ tii ca uchi col cangelil-i, ti homocnac canal, homocnac ix ti cab, valic cantul ti ku, cantul ti bacab; lay hayesob t-uchi tun ca g'oci haycabil.

Lay cahcunah uchebal ca g'olic kanxibuyi;⁸ ca valhi Sac-imix-che ti xaman, caix valhi yocmal-caan, uchicul haycabal lay Sac-imix-che,⁹ valic

4. A piece of definite comparative research is opened here, for some one to carry out, as our knowledge of these texts proceeds: that is, a collecting of the different events which we find located under this or that katun, as here the appearance of the Buried One in the Eleven Ahau, and the binding the eyes (temporary, not their killing) of the **Oxlahun ti Ku**, to precede the evil days of the **Bolon ti Ku**. The reader of this chapter will recall a number of parallel expressions that crop up, already seen in our Kaua chapter of the Thirteen Katuns. Similar phrases constantly reappear, at times still meaningless to us, as **okom bulcum**. Many of these should straighten out by intensive studies of the whole, and chiefly of course through the Kaua, Chumayel and Bacab Ritual archaic passages. Note the similarity of the description to that of the Vinal when he came into being: his name unknown, face unseen, elder sister and sons only speaking for him.

5. The *end* of the **ahal-cab**, the *dawn* of the world would imply a special meaning of **ahal-cab** as a kind of previous Golden Age, now ending, not beginning, as is the usual value of the word.

6. This and the next paragraph are a quite plain metaphor of the waning of the powers, the heart, the seed, the mystical dragon (**canhel**, nor merely **can**, nor even **ahau-can**, the rattlesnake), everywhere the symbol of magic wisdom, whence we get the very name of Itzamná, Itzam-kab (the wonder-working hand), and the Itzás themselves, the wise ones, the magicians. Everywhere we find the same semi-mythological, semi-historical contests, as of Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcóatl, of the Itzás and the Xius, of the "serpent-wise" Votan of the Tzeltals at the opening of their great age.

7. Again we find that the Noachian deluge was not the only one of ancient scriptures. But here we also have several quite vivid events set forth. **Vat'** means

In the Eleven Ahau ⁴ it came about that then came forth the Earth-buried one, to bind the eyes of the Thirteen Gods; and they knew not his name; only his elder sister and his sons spoke; nor also was his face shown to them. And when this came to pass it was that the Dawn of the World was ended,⁵ nor did they know the future that was to come.

Then the Thirteen Gods were seized by the Nine Gods,⁶ and then it was that fire fell, and bonds fell, and there fell stones and trees, and there came the beating of stones and trees. And then the Thirteen Gods were seized, and their head broken and their face buffeted and spit upon, and they were also carried away, and their dragon with its rattles was pulled out, and the plumes and the feathers were taken, and the afterbirth was taken with crushed edible roots, and their heart with crushed gourd-seeds, and crushed large calabash seeds, and crushed beans.

The first Nine-Clans wrapped up the seed, and went to the thirteenth plane of heaven; and there stayed here the husks and bone-tips, here on the earth, while therewith departs the heart of the Thirteen Gods. They did not want that the food of their heart should depart.

Then were slain with arrows the orphans, and the destitute, and the widows, those living without their hearts. Then were they therewith buried in the midst of the fodder-grass, in the middle of the sea, an oncoming tidal-wave of water.⁷ Then it was there came to pass the pulling up of the dragon; sunk the heavens, and sunk the earth. Meanwhile they the Four Gods, the Four Bacabs, were the destroyers, at the time when came to pass the end of the universal destruction.

This the peopling (of the earth) in order that the *kanxibivi*,⁸ the red-yellow men should be numbered. Then the white Imix-tree stood in the north, and there stood up the heaven-pillar as a sign of the earth-destruction: that one, the white Imix-tree,⁹ while it stands. Then the

to turn around and go back, *ulom* that which is about to arrive; so that *vaṭ'-haail*, *hulom-haail* means literally a returning tidal wave, of the sea, *kaknab*. This overwhelms the people in the fields, when the dragon is pulled up, and earth and heavens sink. This is an Atlantean deluge, and not a Noachian one. It is followed by the institution of the era of the Four Chaacs, the rain-gods, and the Genii of the Four Quarters, sons of Itzamná, or of the Sun himself.

8. *Kan-xibivi*; Mediz Bolio's analysis of this as referring to the red race seems perfectly sound. *Kan* is yellow, and *chac* is red; but the redness is that of fire or vermilion, and as Señor Mediz B. says, the natives referred to the Spanish as *chac-vinicob*, red men, red-faced ones. Also, that the 'red earth' in Yucatan is *kan-cab*. The term red-yellow seems fit.

9. In my notes to Mr. Cornyn's article the reader of this number will see how I had challenged his association of the rainbow, *chel*, and the tree, *che-el*, on etymological grounds as far-fetched, *unless* he could bring external evidence of some kind, to support the blending or possibly the identity. Also his reply, giving that *direct*

cuchic; caix valhi Ek-imix-che, cu ektan piṭ'oy; caix valhii Kan-imix-che,¹⁰ uchicul haycabal, culic kantan piṭ'oy, cumlic ix kanxibyui ix kan oyal-mut; caix valhii Yax-imix-che, tu-chumuc ukahlay haycabil, culic vatal.

Cumtal ucah u lac canah val katon, ahpaykap, ahpayoc tu-yum; cumtal ucah Chac-piltec tu-lakin cab, ahpayoc tuyum; cumtal ucah Sac-pilte tu-xaman cab, ahpayoc tu-yum; cumtal ucah Lahun-chan, ahpaykab tu-yum; cumtal ucah Kan-pilte-e, ahpaykab tuyum; hex uvol-cab.

Valic Ah-vuc-cheknal-e, tali tu-vuc-tascab,¹¹ ca emi uchekebe upach Ygam-kab-ain; tii ca emi tamuk uxuk luum caan, ximbal ucahob tu-can-cib, tu-can-tas ti ek; ma sasil cab, ti hun minan kin, ti hun minan akab, ti hun minan u; ah-ubaob ti ix tan uyahalcab, ca tun ahi cab.

evidence asked for. I only reached the translation of this passage a week after reading his letter; and but for that letter I might easily have missed this exceedingly interesting *direct* implication here. After the red-yellow race had been established upon the earth, the White Imix-tree was set as a heaven-pillar in the (sacred) North, as a sign of the earth-destruction. The reader will note through these paragraphs following the rather special treatment given the North, and White. The color series begins there, and not with East, as usually; then the black west follows, and the yellow south. The East represents the rising Sun, of ruddiness and warmth, and giver of life to men; but the North holds the pole-star, and has its own distinct separate sacredness. There also would stand a rainbow after a storm at midday. Whether the *etymological* root of **Chel**, the rainbow, is actually **che** (in the definitive form **che-el**), I certainly cannot say; but Mr. Cornyn's *mythological* association must be granted.

10. This last sentence is again illuminative for old Maya thought. After the red-yellow men had occupied the earth, there was placed the *fifth* **Imix-tree**, the **Yax-Imix**, which means either the first, or the green; it was placed in the middle, in the fifth direction, the center of the four-square earth, below the zenith above. Again we have the same point noted in the Thirteen Katun text, of green as the possible fifth-direction color. Dr. Hough tells me that Cushing was certain that the Zuii had this direction, with their 'speckled corn,' but he never was able quite to verify whether it meant only the center of the earth, or the zenith; though one would imply the other.

But what is further noteworthy here is the connection with what follows. The Yax-Imix-tree (Yggdrasil), is set in the middle of the *record* of the earth-destruction, **tu-chumuc ukahlay haycabal**. **Kahlay** is the common word for record, relation, chronicle. Next the *Four-Ahau katun* (?) first takes his place, invoking his father; then in succession the representatives of the four directions, each invested with his color—saving only that **Lahun-chan** is set in the West, with no color given. (This should help in solving the personage of **Lahun-chan**.) The paragraph ends by saying that these are 'the fulness of the earth.' We can have no other idea than that Hoil, in copying these sentences, visioned an ancient symbolic ceremony of instruction and initiation, with robed and adorned figures in their places for all these characters, trees, the Four-Ahau, and other participants. All in a dramatic representation of the Record of the Destruction, and the Settlement, and the Promise.

I must note that Mediz Bolio translates **cumtal ucah ulac canahval katun** as:

black Imix-tree stood, on it resting the black-breasted pig'oy bird. Then the yellow Imix-tree stood, a sign of earth-destruction, on it resting the yellow-breasted pig'oy. And the *kanxibiví* people settled, the yellow-famed. And then stood the Yax-imix-tree,¹⁰ in the middle of the record of the earth-destruction; set erect.

There takes his place the image of the Four-Ahau katun, as one who lays hold of, one who calls upon his father. Then sits down the red Piltec, at the east, calling on his father. Then sits down the white Pilte, at the north, calling upon his father. Then sits down *Lahun-chan*, laying hold on his father. Then sits down the yellow Pilte, there, laying hold upon his father. These, then, are the fulness of the earth.

Now came He of the Seven Strides to the seventh stage of the earth,¹¹ and descended resting on the shoulders of *Igam-kab-ain*, the 'whale.' And then he descended before the squeezing of the earth (and) sky. They proceed to the fourth candle, to the fourth stage of stars; the earth was not bright, there being no sun, there being no night, there being

"It stood erect and lifted its cup, asking eternal leaves." *Lac* has the ordinary meaning of platter, of baked clay; but we find in the Motul (which I understand Señor Mediz Bolio did not have while making his very painstaking translation) another meaning that changes the whole idea: "Item, thus the idolaters call the *idols* they make of clay." To this Señor Martínez adds the quotation from the Tizimin, *ch'ab ulac katun ti ho ahau*, they took the image of the Five Ahau katun. This, however, does not perfectly clear the passage, owing to the form *canahval*, which does not, in this form, actually render Four Ahau. *Can* does mean four; and *val* leaves; but *canah* means to talk, converse, and not to solicit. We cannot make *canah val katun* to mean, "ask eternal leaves" without forcing the meaning of *katun*, and mistranslating *canah*. Also, *cumtal* does not mean 'to stand erect,' but to be seated. On the other hand, while I have rendered *can-ahval* in the translation as Four Ahau, I am afraid that it is again our old danger, more attractive than safe, and at the definite cost of amending Hoil's text; for *ahval* means 'opponent, enemy.' Yet to translate: "there took its seat the four-enemy (or, the 'serpent-enemy') katun, is still more meaningless and out of line with the context. Here again, text-analysis gives us some light, but also provocation to research—which is what we want.

11. Next we come to a most graphic sentence: He of the Seven Strides comes to the Seventh Stage of the Earth (not heaven; *vuc tascab*, not *tascaan*), and descends lying on the shoulders of *Itzam-kab-ain*, the whale, *ballena*, as in the dictionaries. (Another case of the troubles put on us by word-divisions in difficult passages; if we ignore the *in*, we have left *Igam-kaba*, an imperfect *Igam ukaba*, 'Itzam his name.') Then they proceed to the fourth candle, the fourth stage of stars, before the earth-dawn. For parallel symbolisms we must go to Chaldaean and other Far-Eastern sources, for all these texts open possibilities of knowing things about "Maya" that the stelae dates (still unread and alone *tu-hunal*), never yet let us hope for. I am further wholly convinced that when the Dresden Codex is finally read in its entirety, we shall find, in the *Igamná* ritual sections, all these passages paralleled, and rhythmized for dramatic chants. Time may disprove my belief, but I have it.

* Valac-i¹² to yahalcab, oxlahun pic-ḡ'ac tu-vuc uxocan yahalcab, ca tun ah-cab tiob. Ci-uba ca-kin ḡ'am, ox-kin ḡ'am, caix hop'i yokol Oxlahun ti Ku, okol ucah ti yahaulil, chacab tun tepal, chac hix pop, chac acan uyaxchel-cab, chacan unumteil cab tumenelob, vuc yol-sip, maix tu-kin utepal.

Lay lic yokticob Bolon ti Ku lae,¹³ tii ca tali uḡolol-pop, chaccix pop, culic Bolon ti Ku, ḡ'ut-polbil ix yit, ti culic tu-pop, ti ca emi siḡ', tali tanyol-caan, lay usiḡ'il tepal, usiḡ'il ahaulil.

Caix cumlahii chac eḡ', ca cumlahi yeḡ'ebil ahaulil eḡ', ca cumlahi ek eḡ', ca cumlahi kan eḡ'; ca cumlahi chac-tenel ahau, ah-ten-pop, ah-ten-ḡ'am; ca culhi sactemal ah-ten-pop, ah-ten-ḡ'am; ca cumlahi ek-tenel ahau, ah-ten-pop, ah-ten-ḡ'am; ca cumlahi kan-tenel ahau, ah-ten-pop, ah-ten-ḡ'am; ti ku ix tu-t'an, ti va ix maix ku-i, ti minanix uvah, ti minanix yaal. Hun-xel-i lic valic umulvitic, maix tab utal uyabal, lic uyacuntic.

12. Oddly enough, Hoil here both pays his "duty" to the ruling "katun-lords," and takes over their symbol, by inserting here the cross-symbol. Then at last the dawn; and we get it, as we did with the birth of the Vinal, and the Calendar, in Thirteen and the Seven, the basic Twenty, for **uxocan yahalcab**, the counting, the reciting of the new era. As for the Vinal we had, **oxlahun tuc, vuc tuc, hun, uḡolan-kin**.

13. From here on the matter changes, the relation becomes even more obscure, and Mediz Bolio was entirely correct in noting not only the change of tone but also of treatment. We are still given a steady copy of the archaic text, painstakingly letter and word, with Hoil's very helpful colons used as punctuation (in this kind of text especially), at the rhythmic breaks in the phrases.

We shall find it characteristic of all Mayance to make constant use of rhetorical duplication, both in word-formation, and in dramatic style. The phrases constantly run in rhythmic pairs, a fact that often helps greatly in their reading; and this Hoil marks by colons that are quite definite word or phrase-breaks. When in trouble in the Chumayel, leave your typescript, and just read the facsimile text; you will find yourself almost hearing Hoil's *sense*-rhythm, shown by the separation of letters and clauses, partly by space, definitely by these 'pointings.' The desire of majesty, the desire of the kingdom; seated on the mat, seated on the throne; shall fall bonds, shall fall cords; etc. When the colors and directions come into the picture, the text of course goes in fours; otherwise the pair-rhythm is as constant as are many of the glyph-alternations we find in the codex ḡolkin passages.

Why the Nine Gods complain here, I cannot guess. But at this point they are seated, and desire and all evils enter. The four seats are placed, with their colors, beginning with the red; and the color-invested kings take their seats—thinking themselves gods, *but not gods*. The repeated word eḡ' is translated by Mediz Bolio as face, *rostro*. But that meaning of eḡ' (which has many) is not 'face' but 'grimace,' something *fngido*, imitated, made-up. The other meaning, shown to be the right one here, is that of 'setting down in place.' The katuns, or their monuments, are eḡ'an; also this whole chapter relates the taking of seats by the characters: **culic**,

no moon. Then they awake at the dawn of the earth; and then the earth awoke. ✱ Now at last ¹² is the dawn of the earth; thirteen infinities and seven, is the relation of the earth's awakening, and therewith the earths awoke. Two days is it submerged, three days submerged; and then began the crying of the Thirteen Gods, crying unto the reign, mighty then the power, mighty the mat, firmly fixed the earth-tree, the ceiba, manifest the immensity of the earth, seven times swollen its heart; but the time of its power is not.

For this do the Nine Gods complain; ¹³ and then came the putting in order of the mat, mighty the mat; seated were the Nine Gods, *ṡ'utpolbil-ix yit*, when they were seated on the mat, and when desire descended it came in the midst of the sky, this the desire of majesty, the desire of the kingdom.

Then was there placed the red seat, and set the royal resting-place, the seat; and was placed the black seat, and placed the yellow seat. And then took his place the red-invested king, the occupant of the mat, the occupant of the throne. Then sat the white-throned one, the occupant of the mat, the occupant of the throne. And then took his place the black-invested king, the occupant of the mat, the occupant of the throne. And then took his place the yellow-invested king, the occupant of the mat, the occupant of the throne. Gods were they in their speech, yet were they not gods, for they lacked the bread, and lacked the drink. One morsel there is, wherewith they may now eat together, but no place is there whence comes plenty that they can use.

Hard is their fame when the hard times settled down; severe the distress that came during their rule, and came on while they were seated

cumtal, *culhi*, etc. To evidence this, we find in the first clause an inserted word, *yeg'ebil*. *Eg'eb* is a resting or stopping place, as where men on a journey stop by the road to rest; so that we get, after saying the red seat was placed, "the royal resting-place, the *eg'*, was placed."

At the end of the paragraph is another instance of what a little difference in spelling, and failure to trust Hoil and run down every possible obscure form, can do to our translation. In the sentence after saying that they were not gods in reality, we have: *ti minan-ix uvah*, *ti minan-ix yaal*, which does not mean: "they scattered no seeds, neither did it rain," but: their bread was lacking, and lacking their drink. And immediately following we have: *lic valic umulvitic*, *maix tab utal uyabal lic uyancuntic*. *Mul* does mean 'assemble,' but the whole word is *u-mul-vi-t-ic*, wherein the *vi* means means to eat, take food, and the final *-ic* the subjunctive ending, required after *lic*; it means (following *hun-xel-i*), one fragment indeed, just a piece, whereon they can join in eating. And then the last word is not *ya-cun-t-ic*, they may love, but *yan-cun-t-ic*, they may make use of, *aprovechase*. With these the whole passage clears up completely, and not only makes sense in itself and the context, but completely vindicates the accuracy of Hoil's work, and his complete understanding of what he wrote.

Caal umut, ti culic cal-kin, caal numya ti tali tamuk yahaulil, ca kuchi ti culic tu-pop, top canal, hopan ukak, colop uvich kin, tocan ti cab, lay ubuuc ti yahaulil-i. Lay uchun licil yoktic utepal tu-kin, numen chuc, numen celem tu-kin unatalnaat¹⁴ ahauob.

Can valic uch'ic-che, mol tu-kin satay-babalil-i; can valic uche Ahmuuc tu-hocan be, tu-hocan heleb, okom-bulcum tu-kinil momoli-i pepen, ti tali chac-mitan numya, lic utalel oxvinkeech ukin, ox ahau katun, oxtuc ti hab, lay bin nup'uc ichil ah-ox-ahau-katun, ca bin cumlac uyanal katun, ox uvah, ox yaal, cup uvah, cup yaal, la cuhantic, la cuyukic; xbatun ch'ich'im chay cuhantic. Lay culhi vay tu-cahal numya-e, yum-e, ichil ubolon tun tu-kin, yan t̥'ulil-i.¹⁵

14. **Unatal-naat ahauob** we have twice in this chapter, here and near the end. If I am not mistaken, it gives us another worth-while bit of information as to things Maya in the 'olden days.' **Naat** is the specific word for 'know,' in the sense of understanding, reason, judgment, the power of the mind. But in the doubled form (one of a set of simple important syntactic forms wholly unmentioned in the grammars, lost in today's usage, and exceedingly common all through the old texts and the Motul), **naatal-naat**, it means a riddle, an enigma, a testing question. Not only are such 'riddles' constant in 'proving-out of those worthy to be accepted,' but a whole chapter in the Chumayel is given to an extended list of such. In the second place herein, the word is used for the 'proving' of the men of true lineage, at the time, later to come, of the rehabilitation. One is inevitably led to recall similar procedures, both in the regular Spanish *procesos de residencia* at the end of official terms, and in the impartial records of reign or dynasty which neither of these could evade in old China. What is especially important is, that such a testing of the reigns, as a custom, of necessity implies a long and well-established social order. It is not an incident of the *nomadry* we have been told to believe in as the state of the Maya 2000 years ago.

15. From here on I confess that most of the translation, like the text, is very unsatisfactory to me. We are coming to where the arrival of the Spaniards is referred to; it is nearly all a rhetorical, denunciatory description of evil days, with metaphors that meant to *them* quite what our metaphors and slang of today do to us. But no matter how one translates it (with our present background of knowledge) neither text nor translation hold together, or make intelligible sense. What was the grief **bulcum** (see the same phrase in the Kaua 13 katun text) in the swarming of the butterflies? Is **momoli-i** even rightly rendered? What is the three-ways-bent day (or, with Mediz B., the three portions of years) sealed up in Three Ahau? Does **ox uvah, ox yaal, cup uvah, cup yaal**, mean as I have translated, or: "a katun of three loaves of bread, of three waters; narrow its life, miserable its juice"? Neither makes the least sense—now to us, anyhow. I changed **ox** to mean *ramón*-bread, instead of three, on the strength of the 13 katun texts, where the value was clear. I also accepted 'scanty' for **cup**, because the whole passage is one of distress, and we are immediately told they had to eat 'hail' (probably correct for **xbat-un**, though I understand neither the **x-** nor the **-un**) and *chaya* leaves; which latter still are the food of the poor in hard times. But the net meaning of **cup** is 'clear,' *sereno*, said of the sky when the clouds are dispersed and 'scanty.' Its net meaning is a

on the mat. Suddenly the fire spreads aloft, colop the face of the sun, and scorched the earth. This is the vesture then of the kingdom, this the reason its rule in its day is lamented; very powerful, very strong at the time of enigma (the questioning) ¹⁴ of the lords.

Firm stands the sign of the rooted tree at the day of the universal destruction; firm stands the tree of the buried one at the established road, at the established rest-place. Grief bulcum in the day of the swarming of butterflies, when came the long distress, wherein is the coming of the three-ways-bent day of the Three Ahau katun; three years it is this shall be sealed up within the katun of Three Ahau, and there shall be seated another katun. Ramón-bread their bread, ramón their drink, cup their bread, cup their drink, whether they eat, or whether they drink; hail perchance and picked *chaya* leaves they eat. This took place here in the land of distress, oh father, in the nine tun, in the time of the presence of the foreigners.¹⁵

good one, for all I could verify; so why its use here? **Cup** is a time of *bonanza*, good times; times of no wind, in the Motul, which in Pío Pérez takes on the meanings of 'lack of air to breathe,' hence suffocation; again the idea of lacking.

All the above leaves us wholly at sea, for all we can find in either the Motul or Pío Pérez, or in the latter's printed edition of the Ticul. At sea, that is, until we turn to the San Francisco, copied by Pío Pérez, but with words not taken over by him into his own work; there we find: "**Cup**, una raiz que se come en tiempo de hambre, a root eaten in times of hunger." The food and drink *must* therefore have been ramón-bread, **cup**-roots, and **chaya** leaves; which combines **ox** as ramón, fits the context, and *does* give, again, an accurate translation, without emendation or forcing of meanings.

It is the fact that these difficulties exist, and also that these solutions *are* here to find, and yield such first-class historical, linguistic, mythological and cultural pieces of knowledge, which has brought me to including these long notes here, inviting controversy and checking, just as my interchange did with Mr. Cornyn on his **Ixcit Cheel** paper. The QUARTERLY seeks not only to present this unpublished material to its readers and the members of the Maya Society, but also to *stimulate research*, and to work toward the growth of a constantly increasing, and increasing-*ly* Maya-wise body of interested people. When we can come to where texts like these can really be studied (as they have not been so far, but rather denied or ignored), not merely by the two or three of us, but by many; can arouse criticism, honestly done to add to knowledge instead of vaunting the critic's own unverifiable ideas before a public that cannot heckle as they should—then we will be on the threshold of learning what these ancient American civilizations held to show us. To this end then, for the QUARTERLY, and for myself either as Editor or contributor, I will say:

The QUARTERLY challenges every conclusion in things Maya that is not supported by *evidence*, and evidence so given *with* the statement of the conclusion, as that other students and readers can intelligently receive it, check, criticise, and verify for themselves—or demolish. Including my own. And this challenge is especially also to every *etymological* definition based on mere superficial similarities or untraced dictionary definitions, especially in the light of comparative Mayance linguistics, which *must* be

Katal ucah ucuch-katun,¹⁶ tu-lah-yabil ah-oxlahun-ahau, tii ca ca uhekah yoc ah-buluc ahau, tii ca emi ut'an Bolon t̃'acab uni yak, ca emi katal ucah ucuch-katun, katun bolonte ucuch, ca emi ti caanil, kan ix ukinil, kaxci ucuch; tii ca emi haa, tali tanyol caan uchebal ucaput-sihil.

Bolon haaban yotoch yet-emcii Bolon-mayel;¹⁷ ch'ahuc uchi, uni yak, ch'ahuc-hi uṭ'omel; ti ca emi cantul chaac vaya caat lae, lay ucabilob nictē lae. Tii ca hokii ixchac-hochkom ti, y ixzac-hochkom ti, y ixek-hochkom, y ixkan-hochkom, y ixhau-nal, y ixhuk-nab, y et-hokci tun ixhoyal nictē, y ixho-nictē, y ixninich-cacau, y ixchavil tok, y ixbac-nictē, y ixmacvil-xuchite, ixhobon-yol nictē, y ixlaul nictē, y kovol-yoctah nictē, lay hokob nictē: laob-ix ahcomayelob, lay unaa nictē.

Ca hokiob yuṭ'ub ahkin, yuṭ'ub ahau, yuṭ'ub holcan; lay ucuch nictē ahau. Ca emi minan-ix uyanal; lay vile cu-t'an, maix vah ucuchma. Tii tun ca hoki ixhauilah nictē, ocsic ukeban Bolon ti Ku, oxte-ix ti hab ukin, ca yalah cuchii, maix kuchi ch'abnac-i ku mitnal-t. Bolon t̃'acab.

Ca emi tu-chun nictē P'islimte¹⁸ yax-bac t̃'unun-ix uvayinah, ca emi ca uṭ'uṭ'ah ucabil, bolon yal-nictē tu ichil; tun ca ch'a-ichamnii ix-hoyal nictē, ca tun hoki upucsikāl nictē uximbantes-uba, canhek-ix ulac nictē lae; ti-ix culan ahkin xocbil tun chumuc.

brought into the final judgment seat; and also to all *symbolical* interpretations of words or glyph-forms, based either on what the interpreter *thinks* they look like or denote, or on fancied deductions from split-up elements in word-names, like 'sparrow-grass,' for an instance; or **ca-vac**, 'twice broken-out,' for a thunder-storm. Unless all and any such association, meaning or explanation is self-evident, not only to the proponent but to others, it must require, perforce, extraneous evidence to support it. With that definitely given, as in the rainbow-tree association (never mind the original *etymology*, as yet), or the **ixcit**-aunt-wild-hog now proven association in the folklore of the day, the admission follows—*quoad* the case in point. But to bring that all out, requires study, research, a body of students, and material for them to work with; which is as yet unpublished. All of which then, is the *why* of the Maya Society as today reorganized and reborn from its original procrustean bed, and of this its organ.

16. I hope some one can find a workable meaning, not a forced one, to this paragraph. I can not, either as to the part played by the 13-Ahau, the 11-Ahau, and his broken legs, the command of the **Bolon Tz'acab**, the day **Kan**, or the nine-year house.

17. We here come to four paragraphs relating the reign of dissolute customs, the age of 'flowers.' I feel quite sure that the 'flowery path' is here the metaphor for the ways and times of evil and dalliance. Some of the flower-names are translatable; others I have left in the Maya. The first four I cannot render as the ladies of the "deep chalice." **Kom** specifically means 'valley,' and is used immediately afterwards for the Valley of Josaphat; deep chalice and empty valley mean one as much as the other to us, in these names of the flower godmothers.

After they come, then comes the Flower king, whose **t'an**, speech, order, régime, gave not food, but 'sweetness.' Then, in the third year (why the third year?) the sin of **Bolon ti Ku** is introduced; but why we have the reference to Mitnal, or the Nine Clans, is so far helped out by just one possible reference: in the Vinal order, Mitnal was first tested on *Nine* Cauac, which leaves us no wiser, yet may lead somewhere, some time. (See note 17a, on page 91.)

Blocked is the burden of the katun, for all the years of the Thirteen Ahau katun;¹⁶ and there took place the breaking off of the legs of the Eleven Ahau katun; and there descended the command of the Nine Clans, the point of their tongue, when there descended the blocking of the burden of the katun, of the ninth katun the burden, when from on high there descended also the Kan as the day on which its burden was bound up. Then it was that water descended, it came from the midst of heaven for the rebirth, nine-yearred its house (or, thrice-thrice cleaned its house).

With it descended Bolon Mayel;¹⁷ sweet his mouth, the point of his tongue, sweetened were his brains. And there descended the Four Chaacs with bowls of fruit honeys. Then there came forth Mistress Red Empty Valley, and Mistress White Empty Valley, and Mistress Black Empty Valley, and Mistress Yellow Empty Valley, and she of the Halved Maize-Ear, and she of the Dislocated Palm. Then with these came forth Mistress Ho-yal Flower, and Mistress Ho-Nixte, and Mistress Gnawed Cacao, and Mistress Chauil-Tok, and Mistress Bone-flower, and Mistress Macuil-Xuchite, Mistress Hollow-heart Flower, and Mistress Laul Flower, and Lane-Foot Flower. These the flowers that came forth, and they are the godmothers, they are the mothers of the flowers.

And there came forth the fragrance of the priest, the fragrance of the king, the fragrance of the valiant. This is the burden of the Flower Ahau, the Lord of the Flowers. And he descended, there being no other; such must be his order, and not bread is the burden.

And it was then, when the Mistress of the Wide-opened Flower came forth, that the sin of the Nine Gods was introduced, and in the third year, they say, is the time it took place; and the god Mitnal had not come, created, Bolon Tz'acab, the Nine Clans. Then P'islimte,¹⁸ he of the green bones, (or the first bones), went into the bottom of the flower, he took the form of a humming-bird, and descended and sucked its honey, the nine juices within. And then he took as wife Mistress Ho-yal Flower, and then there came forth the heart of the flower, to go wandering. Of four petals was the cup of that flower, he of the sun being seated therein, to be told.

18. P'islimtec is also mentioned by Cogolludo, as the god of song, also called Ahkin-xoóc, the priest of the sun who relates the stories of the gods. Cogolludo also gives another, god of song, as Xocbitun, who probably did just what this chapter does, recited the kahlay of the great stones, the tunil. The identification of P'islimte with the humming-bird should lead us somewhere in time; and again we have the nine here significant, in the nine juices of the flower.

Tii ca uchi uhuhu-yol Oxlahun ti Ku,¹⁹ maix yoheltah yemel ukeban upop. Ti ku-ix ta t'an cuchi-e, nicté ix upop, nicté-ix ukanche, nicté yema. Savin culic, savin uximbal, savin ulac, savin uluch, savin upucsikal, savin unat, savin utucul, savin uchi, cool ut'an ti yahaulil-i tu-kin vat vil, tu-kin vaat ukul tu-xay. Uchi²⁰ lic uhanal tupach uxau, lic uvil uchiic-ma che-e, etma tunich. Chac ucool yan ti; Lahunchan uvich ti culic, sip uvich, sip ut'an, sip ucan, sip unaat, sip uximbal; kaxan uvich ti culic, chac cah upop culic tamuk yahaulil; tuban uyum, tuban unaa; maix yohelma unaa alinte-e; t'aban upucsikal, tu-hunal, ichil ixma-yumil, ah-poch'-yum ichil ixma-nail bin ximbalnac, calan umut, satal unaat, yicnal uyum, yicnal unaa. Minan tibil ti, minan uş tu-pucsikal, halil yan tu-niyak ş'eş'ec lo-e. Ma yohel bix bin ş'ocebal, maix yohel bal yan tu-ş'oc yahaulil-i; lay ca bin ş'ocnac ukinil utepal-e.

He Bolon ti Ku lae, Bolon-chan vich ahauil vinicob; ah-cakin pop, ah-cakin ş'am, lay tali ichil ox ahau katun; ti-ix bin yanac uyanal uyumil peten y ah-culcinnah-ul ut'an uyanal katun, ca bin ş'ococ ut'an ah-ox-ahau-katun tu-kinil u-concon-mehen. Lay bin yanac yokol ununil Ah-işā, hun va chuen, hun va celem, hun-ş'it ukex ukeban ununil Ah-işā.

Lay Bolon ti Ku, lay bin ş'ocebal ut'an ah-ox-ahau-katun, ti-ix unatalnat¹⁴ yahaulil-cabob-i; ş'ocebal ut'an katun, tix uchucanhal uch'ibal almehenob-i batabob, y uyanal ahcuxolalob y uch'ibal batabob, lay mucchek tab-i luum tu-vichob-e, ca mabalhiob tumen uco-kin, uco-katun, umehen kas, yal-xbuyuk; lay sihob ca ahi-cab ichil ah-ox-ahau-katun. Bay bin ş'ocebal utepalob ah-cap'el-ichob ti cayumil ti Dios.

Hex ca bin ş'ocnac ut'an katun lae, ca tun uş'ab Dios yuchul hunyeciil tu-caten, lay hay-cabil-e. Lay tun cu-ş'ocol-e, ca tun emec cayumil ti Jesu Christo yokol ukomil Josapat, tu-xax-cah Jerusalen, uchic ulohi coon tu-cilich kikel. Lay ix bin emec ti noh-muyal, uş'ab utohol-canil hah umansah ti sinan ti crus-che cuchi-e. Tii tun yemel ti noh uchucil, ti noh-ix utepal xan, hahal Dios, lay hahal Ku, lay cihes-caan y luum y yokolcab tulacal. Laix bin emec taxcuntic yokolcab xan, tu-yuşil y ulobtakil yah-ş'oysahulob, ah-nunob.

19. Meanwhile the **Oxlahun ti Ku**, the Thirteen, are resting, knowing naught of the evil on earth, their eyes having been blinded. The evil spreads and is described at length, in a style quite distinct from the dignity of the earlier paragraphs. In which connection, also, we have to note a marked change (not in the writing, which is still Hoil's) but in the way he writes. Beginning just above, after the word **Mitnal**, he begins to crowd his writing, ceases most of his helpful punctuation we have referred to, the ink blots and is thicker, and he seems all out of the 'olden time.' We get passages where, lacking his points, we can make wholly different translations, merely by separating the words differently. **Tu-kin vaat ukul tu-xay uchi** is rendered by Mediz Bolio as: "In the time when his worship may receive force in the lips of his

Then it was that came about the resting of the Thirteen Gods;¹⁹ they knew naught of the descent of the wickedness in the seat of government (the mat); gods did they then seem, and of flowers was their mat, of flowers their chair, of flowers their parts. Jealous are they seated, jealous their walk, jealous their plate, jealous their cup, jealous their heart, jealous their knowledge, jealous their thinking, jealous their speech, their mouth. Rooted out their dominion in the days of their rule, broken their power in their day, broken their worship, at the cross-roads.²⁰ It came about that they ate behind their palms, that they ate feeding on trees and on stones; great was their rooting out. **Lahun Chan** was their countenance while they stayed, evil their face, evil their words, evil their talk, evil their understanding, evil their walk; blindfolded their eyes as they dwelt, **chac cah u-pop culic** during their reign. Forgetting their fathers, forgetting their mothers, knowing not the mothers that gave them birth; inflamed their hearts, keeping to themselves amidst the fatherless, giving offense to their fathers, amidst the motherless they wander; drunken their repute, lost their understanding, with their fathers, with their mothers. No good thing is there, nor good in their hearts; only a little is there on the points of their tongues, there. They know not how it shall be ended, neither do they know what will be at the end of their dominion, when the days of their rule shall end.

mouth." **U-kul** means his worship; **xay** are cross-roads; **u-chi** his mouth; we are also told that **xayak-chi** are ulcers in the corners of the mouth. But if we stop with **ukul tu-xay**, worship at the crossing-places, and read **uchi**, 'it happened,' instead of **u-chi**, 'his mouth,' we can get the rendering above. The passage is of slight importance in itself, yet it shows the difficulties, the help we get from Hoil when he is writing carefully the old and revered texts, and the need for a total lack on our part of dogmatism as to what renderings we give. **Xay** is not 'corner,' *rincón*, but crossing, crossroad, branch road; nevertheless it still may mean, worship in the corners of the mouth, while they talked behind their palms.

20. Again another difficulty of the same kind; it may be that they ate "neither sticks nor stones," even though the text is still of the rule of hard times. In **uchiic ma che-e, et ma tunich**, the **et** is troublesome; also **ma** as a prefix means 'not,' but as a postfix it is confirmatory of the word it is added to; while the Motul also supplies us with: "**etma**, to hold or carry in the hands, lo mismo que **et**." The whole meaning thus depends on whether the **ma** goes first with **uchiic**, and then makes one word with the otherwise useless **et** (in this place), or whether it is a negative prefix to **che, tunich**.

17a. It was only after these notes were in type that I came across the following entry in the Spanish-Maya part of the Motul, hitherto I think unnoticed by any one: "Agua bendita, **ḡigabil haa, bolon mayel**." The term **ḡigabil haa** is the common one for 'holy water,' used in aspersing; **bolon**, the number 9, has frequent suggestions of being used not merely as that number but like **ox**, 3, a sacred superlative; Nine seems linked with magic work all over the world. I recall, however, no other instance so clear as this, for the simple meaning 'holy.' **Mayel** is however again a case of the

Thus now are the Nine Gods, Bolon-chan the countenance of the royal men, a régime of two days, a two-days throne. This came on in the Three Ahau katun, and there shall be another father of the land, the establisher of the law of another katun, and there shall end the law of the katun Three Ahau in the day of the worthless sons. This shall stand over the insolence of the men of the Itzá; one *chuen* perhaps, one man of vigor perchance, for the length of a *tun* the reward of the sins of the men of Itzá.

This the Nine Gods. There shall be ended the law of the Three Ahau katun,²¹ and the riddle (the questioning)¹⁴ of the rulers of the land, to the ending of the law of the katun, and for the proving of the lineage of the chiefs of true birth, and the presence there of those of discretion and the chiefs of the lineage, that which had been trampled out, there on the ground their faces, which had been annihilated in the days of insane evil, in the katuns of insanity, by the sons of the perverse one, the offspring of the foolish woman. They were born when the earth-dawn came in the Three Ahau katun. Thus shall be ended the rulers, the two-faced before our father God.

Thus shall be ended the law of that katun, and then God will bring about the coming of a second deluge; this is the general destruction, and when this is ended, then shall descend our father Jesus Christ upon the valley of Josaphat, over by the city of Jerusalem, where it was that he redeemed us by his sacred blood. He shall descend in a great cloud, and shall give the proof of his having been crucified at that time. Then it shall be that he will descend in his great power, in his great majesty too, the true Dios, he the true God, he the creator of heaven and earth and all things upon the earth, and shall descend to bring even justice upon earth, as to what is good, and as to the evil of the oppressors, the insolent ones.

dangers of taking only the apparent stem or part of an obscure word, to etymologize a meaning, and give us otherwise unrecorded customs or deities resting on that mere interpretation of an actually unknown word. *May* is a word common to both Quiché and Maya for the *tabaco bobo*, *piciete*, a tobacco at times used in other forms, but chiefly in powder, as snuff; in the Quiché it also refers to powdered chile used as snuff. From this, disregarding the ending *-el*, Mediz Bolio gives us: "He of the Sacred Impalpable Powder; the Lord of the Pollen." The *may* powder, whether tobacco or snuff-pepper, is not 'pollen': besides that the context is in complete discord, especially with the one and only meaning given us for the *may*: "sweet his mouth and the point of his tongue," etc. What is, however, the actual etymology of *Mayel*, and how *bolon mayel* came to be given as an equivalent for 'holy water,' is another 'stimulating' problem.

17b. As this form goes to press I find, Motul p. 55: *bolon mayel*, any very soft and transcendent odor. This completely fits the context, but still gives no clue to the etymology of *mayel*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Diccionario de Motul: Maya-Español. Edición hecha por Juan Martínez Hernández. 8vo, pp. xix, 935. Mérida, Yucatán, 1931.

It is the greatest pity that a work of this outstanding importance, and so long desired by Maya students, should be printed in the way this has been done. Señor Martínez, and our friend Willard (who paid the bills) deserve our appreciation for their intent to help. But this is understood to be a faithful printing of this great 16th century dictionary, manuscript, copied off from the photostatic copies by a scholar whose devotion to things Maya has been known for many years—whether we agree with his views on many points or not. But he is supposed to *know Maya*. The misprints through the whole volume are appalling; and inasmuch as its users cannot have the photos to check by, the issue thus is nothing short of disastrous.

As known to every one, the original was sold to the John Carter Brown Library by Berendt; who also made a complete copy, with additions, which he sold to Dr. Brinton. By the kindness of George Parker Winship, the manuscript was photostated for me nearly 20 years ago, after I had gotten well under way in my task of photographing "all Middle American linguistic manuscripts or rare imprints." Other copies were made later, by Mr. Winship or myself, and some five copies are thus in this country and three abroad. Years ago I had transcribed about a third of the manuscript, planning to complete it after I had done the same for the material in the other Mayance branches, that I might build all together into one polyglot Mayance Dictionary, including once and for all the *entire* manuscript dictionary material, coordinated. At once on learning of the present edition I sent for copies; and of course began to check them by the photostats.

There are over a hundred mistakes or changes, great or little, in the first ten pages. And worst of all, a great many are in the Maya. Double vowels are changed to single, or the reverse. Whole clauses of the Spanish explanations are omitted. Maya words are mis-spelled. Even entire items are omitted. At different places, the transcriber has dropped down a line, omitting a definition and giving that of the next Maya words, thus running the two items together so as to make one wholly erroneous, and omitting the other. As to the accentuation, we might have been grateful to Señor Martínez, he being used to the colloquial use of Maya today, if he had given us, *consistently*, the stress accents. But this he did not; he constantly changed the indications in the original (which should have been either preserved religiously, or at least noted where changed); but we do not even get a systematic use of what are given. As a minor point, but one

in which we should have at least had consistency, the editor first set out to modernize the old Spanish spellings; in a few pages he ceased that, and thereafter changed or did not change, with complete irregularity, so that we in reading hear neither the vocalization as the original writer uttered it, nor that of today.

All this is so much to be regretted, because of the many additional notes introduced by the editor, as (N. del E.), containing many illustrative and historical facts most welcome. If he could only have put a parallel contribution of accuracy in the printing, we should have owed him a great debt. But as it is, the volume serves of course as a handy one to use; but the user can never tell whether it is correct or not, and lacking the photos to check up by, *dare* not rely on it for any serious point. In short, the work cannot be cited in support of any Maya language point, for that reason. The research student must still revert to the manuscript.

Page 1: **xicech** for **xiicex**; **althan** for **aalthan** (the ms. *specifies three syllables*); **entibiarse** for **entibiar**; **nieto**, omitted; **uabilila**, **eres**, for **uabililo**, **este es**.

Page 1r: **y** diferentes, omitted; **las estrellas** for **las tres estrellas** (in Gemini, part of the 'turtle'); **acantah** for **acan**.

Page 2: **ma acaan** for **macaan**; **tieneme** for **rineme**; **concertando** for **concertado**; **y tiseras y cuchillo del escrivano y caxa de lançetas**, omitted; **acatbil** for **accatbil**; **acunah** for **accunah**.

Page 2r: **accunaan**: es participio de **accunah**, en todos sus significados, **entire item** omitted; **pequeño de cuerpo**, **ac yoc Juan**, **pequeño de cuerpo es Juan**, **es enano**, omitted; **ac uximbal Juan**, **es enano Juan**, omitted.

Page 3: **grandes** for **hondas**; **asi tanto como eso**, for **casi tanto como esto**; **açab**: **algun tanto**, **catch-word of item**, omitted; **yahi yol** for **yahi ti yol**; **açabhal nok**: **irse gastando o parando la ropa mediada**, **algo traída**, **entire item** omitted; **etppizancunic-aba** for **cetppizancunic-caba**; **açulech** for **açulceh** ('thou' for 'deer').

Page 7r: **ahcambeçah than**: **doctrinero**, **que enseña la doctrina**, **entire item** omitted; **ahcanan-hol**, for **ahcanan uvol**; **ahcanan-balbail**, **tutela o curandería y mayordomía**, omitted.

Page 8: items **ahcate-pucçikal**, and **ahcate-than**, both omitted; **definition of ahceh** omitted; **ah-ceh-al pek**, for **ah-cehnal pek**; **ahcouez** for **ahceuez**; **ahic** for **ahci**.

Page 38: **definitivo** for **de similitud**; **yuk in balche** for **yetkin baalche**; **racimos** for **ramos**; **benel** for **baxel**; **aletear** for **alear**; **babancil** for **babacancil**; **okol** for **hokol**; **por el agujero**, omitted; **tal** for **talel**.

Page 157: **ch'o** for **ch'oo**; **men xiblal bax tu**, omitted.

Page 218: two items, **ye hağ' tah t** and **ye hul tah t** run together, omitting one definition and the second catchword; **toon** omitted; **on** omitted; **ello** for **ella**; two items run together, **yeye che tah t**, and **yeye ch'in tah t**, run together, omitting first definition, and second catchword.

Page 340r: **oc** for **oci**; **bal oc ta-than-ex**, 1. **bal ocex ta-than?** **que quieres dezir?** omitted; **ocaaan u cal** for **ocaaan u cab**; **ha** for **haa**; **yikil** for **yilkil**; **ocaaan in-kinil**, omitted; **ocbal**, **cosa que está a punto de entrar**, **entire item** omitted.

Page 396r: **tabál**, **accent as placed**, omitted, in a place where the ms. is marking accent distinctions; **nakçic olal** for **hakçicolob**; **ğ'iban** for **ğ'ibaan**; **tabál** for **tabál nak**; ditto marks placed under **taaban**, **something salty**, where the ms. gives a

sharp distinction, **tabaan**, something tied; encadenada for enganada; **taaban** for **taban** (this change makes Fulano "one of the *saliy* Pharisees," instead of "one attached to their company").

Page 440: **uayaan**, **uay** for **uaayan**, **uaay**; **vaixibal** for **vaixabal**; **bai bin v cib tex hi xan**, for **baix bin v cib tech xan**.

The above are by no means all on the pages cited, and (after the first few pages) were found on opening at random through the book. The minor misprints are very numerous, and no account has been taken of them.

If the work were of less importance, it would not have merited this review; but the burdens already placed on Maya students by all those who have not known Maya, are too great to allow this to pass without its accurate, verified evaluation. The Council of the Maya Society thought enough of Señor Martínez' long devotion to Maya studies (not counting my long most friendly relations with him, unbroken through twenty years acquaintance), to add his name among the few chosen for honorary Fellowship, on its incorporation in 1930; but that does not cover letting this work pass as it is, unchallenged.

Señor Martínez has also given his readers a reprint of the unique Coronel Maya Grammar, printed in 1620. We have not taken the time to check this thoroughly, but the errors of the reprint seem few. He has, however, assigned thanks and credit in its connection which we cannot quite understand. He tells his readers that there is "is only one copy in the world, and that it is totally unknown." Then that a certain university, through its director (naming him) "has supplied us this unique copy for reproduction, thereby rendering great service to Maya scholars, and profoundly earning our acknowledgments." The present reviewer is sure that it is well known to all in Maya circles that the Coronel was bought by him some 15 years ago, at the Wilkinson sale, at which everybody in the field was represented and bidding. Señor Martínez mentions the location of the different manuscripts, mentioning this writer as having photostated both the San Francisco and the Motul; and Tozzer places the ownership or location of the Maya material in his Maya grammar, mentioning my ownership so often as to make me blush (if a collector is ever guilty of such a thing) and I supposed that Señor Martínez knew who owned the Coronel; certainly the "giver of this unique piece for publication," knows that the credit thus given him does not belong.

The first thing I did when I got the Coronel was to photograph it, and send a copy to Charles Bowditch, with my compliments; I later made copies for Mr. Ayer and the Library of Congress; also the one that has served the present issue. The work is not therefore "totally unknown." It is accessible in Cambridge, Chicago and Washington. It could never have been even seen by anyone had I not made it accessible,

as I have done with every single piece in my collection for the past twenty odd years. For fifteen years now, the Gates collection of original material on the Indians of Middle America has been known as so complete as to be as great as all others in the world combined, public or private; there is practically nothing that is not to be found in it. When the War broke out I actually owned half of all the linguistic and similar mss. known (outside of Sevilla, which no one knows about, but which probably has little linguistic); besides this I had had photographed or photostated 95% of all mss. and early unprocurable imprints, in all the libraries of this country and Europe—some 75,000 pages. In all this I never refused access to any one on any thing I had; I only asked that they do good work by or through it. And while I did make a "clearance sale" of my Mexican material, from mid-Oaxaca north, in 1924, it was only to devote myself wholly to Maya; and my Maya and Central American material is therefore all here in Baltimore, to be used in making Maya better known through the Maya Society. I do not care for thanks, but at least one likes fair treatment, especially from those to whom one has given without stint. W. G.

Kunst und Religion der Mayavölker, II; die Copaner Denkmäler. By E. P. Dieseldorff. Repr. from *Zeitsch. Ethn.*, 38 text illus. and 24 tables. Berlin, 1931.

This work deals with the still unsolved problem of the correlation of Maya dates with our system, and especially the involved astronomical elements. A proper review would mean a detailed comparison with other claimed correlations, a going into the entire subject, and calling for at least a whole number of the *QUARTERLY*. If we can reach this part of our Maya program in our second year, we shall be thankful. Meanwhile our readers can order the book direct from Señor Dieseldorff at Cobán, Guatemala, or we should be glad to transmit any orders. The price is \$2.00.

The Song of Quetzalcoatl: translated from the Aztec by John Hubert Cornyn, Professor of Aztec Language and Literature in the National University of Mexico. 2nd ed., with 12 illus. The Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1931.

To the finding of this work we owe our present fruitful association with Professor Cornyn. The delightfully charming rendering of the old Aztec poems, with the sympathetic and interpretative introduction, comes very close to being the beginning for that 'making old Indiandom real' for Aztec which is our own objective for Maya. We cannot couch a critical lance with him in Aztec translation as he seems able to do with us in Maya (for which we are glad), but after our experience in this issue over the *Ixcit Cheel* folk-tale, we suspect that he really knows Aztec technically as well as culturally and poetically. As a book to help answer the constant question for "something by which to see those people as they were," both the verses and the introduction are a great deal more than welcome.



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MAP
of the
Mayance Nations and Languages
prepared for the
Maya Society Quarterly

Modern place names ○ Quetzaltenango

Ancient sites ▲ Yaxchilan

National boundaries ————

State boundaries - - - - -

Language boundaries ————

Trails or ancient roads - - - - -

Railroads ————

The language outlines are intended as approximate for the period from about 1000 to 1500 A. D.

The low and high ranges, north or south, are intended to indicate the three major elevations of the Mayance occupied territory

TZELTAL

Scale of miles: 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



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THE MAYANCE NATIONS

By WILLIAM GATES

Mayance is the term given to the family of languages spoken at the time of the Conquest by those descended from the great monument and road builders of what is referred to as the Old Empire period, as distinct from the later separate kingdoms found by the Spaniards on their entry. The term is thus used as we do Romance for the five modern languages, each with their dialects, descended from the Latin. The situation as regards our study of the hieroglyphic inscriptions and codices, and these 15th century spoken tongues may be paralleled thus: Imagine Latin at the Christian era as having been written in hieroglyphs, of which we knew, by direct report, the numerals, calendar signs including the day-signs and month-signs, the four cardinal points with their associated colors, together with the names given to these signs in *France* of the 15th century. That by their constant association with the figures of certain deities we had established certain signs as belonging to these certain deities, without however being sure of the actual character or names of most of these; also by association the sign for the planet Venus, and later those for the sky and earth. Add to this that about half of the elements in the day-glyphs had identifiable meanings corresponding to the French words for death, darkness, etc.; the above being the sum total of our starting point for the dual study of the glyph writings.

Let us next assume that knowledge of spoken Latin had been wholly lost, there being no phonetic script to preserve it; but that in this same century that saw the invention of printing and the Discovery of America, missionaries and conquerors of an alien race using alphabetic writing had come into Europe, and had written down the then spoken French, Spanish, Portuguese, Latin and Rumanian in extensive dictionaries, grammars and texts; conquering the local people, destroying their culture, killing off all their chief people (that is the educated princely and priestly class), and reducing the rest to house servitude or the refuge of barbarism in the forests. Then that in due course the social order of the incomers, and their language, overlaid that of the natives, and less

and less attention was paid to their language; which in its turn not only lost its own cultural standard, but became so far deteriorated and 'Hispanized' as to lose not only its purity but a great deal of its character. The Mayance languages of today are in fact worse in comparison to what they were in 1550 than "dog-Latin" is to the speech of Cicero.

Obviously, we wish to read the hieroglyphic writings, and with equal truth we would like to know what was the spoken Mayance "Latin" of the Second Century. That constitutes our double linguistic problem. When we further consider that we have many thousands of pages of the above dictionaries, grammars and texts written in "Middle Ages" Mayance, before their loss of their cultural character and independent use, the obvious point of attack clearly lies in comparative linguistic studies based on those records, rather than in "field studies" among the submerged peasants of the present day.

The Mayance languages fall into seven main divisions: the Huastec, Tzeltal-Tzotzil, Mam-Ixil, Quiché-Cakchiquel, Pokom-Kekchí, Choltí and Maya. There are numerous minor and local dialects, falling within one or another of the above divisions, such as Tabascan Chontal in the southwest and the vanishing Mopan of the southeast, 'sub-dialects' of Maya; but the above seven main divisions are as distinct as French from Italian, or English from German. The reasons for pairing four of the seven divisions are political rather than linguistic: Tzeltal and Tzotzil are closely alike, so are Mam and Ixil, so also Quiché, Cakchiquel and their close cousin Tzutuhil; and so also Kekchí and the two Pokom dialects. In the last case it is however to be noted, that Kekchí does differ from its neighboring Pokonchí almost or quite as much as Spanish and Portuguese, this particular division being rather a parallel to the Hispanic peninsula, or the Scandinavian. Pokonchí in the north and Pokomán around Guatemala City and Lake Amatitlán differ little more in speech than New England and South Carolina; the first are uplanders and the second men of southern lowlands, one living among pines and rocks, the other among palms, with the usual social, psychological and linguistic variations.

Geographically, the "Maya" and their culture reached from a short distance over into Honduras on the east, to the Tehuantepec isthmus on the west. Palenque, Ocosingo and Comalcalco in Chiapas and Tabasco, in Tzeltal-Tzotzil territory, stand for the general western line of the Old Empire, with a single known, almost inaccessible site inland from Coatzacoalcos on the isthmus, and clearly Maya. On the east,

the main line is at Copán, and at Naco on the Uloa river; the latter was an important town at the coming of the Spaniards, but no archaeological work has yet been done there. High on the Honduran range is a great ruined site of Maya type in its planning, which seems to have been an outpost, of still unknown dating. The cultural Maya area thus covers Yucatan, Guatemala, Tabasco, northern Chiapas and western Honduras, as one great unit.

The seventh Mayance branch is still a wholly unsolved historical problem; the Huasteca spoke a Mayance tongue, occupied the Pánuco or Tampico coast region where Cortés first landed in Mexico, but their culture was not Maya. Even the linguistic material is almost wholly wanting; we have record of a small *Doctrina* by Guevara, printed in 1550, no copy known; then the Cruz *Doctrina* printed in 1571, three or four copies known; then the standard Huastec work of Tapia Zenteno, 1767, a grammar, *doctrina* and rather full vocabulary. There are a small number of other Huastec pieces, slightly supplementing the above, in print or manuscript, and records of other small lost early imprints, but I have no note of any literature or texts other than the above. The whole matter is a problem: how came the Huasteca there, and when? when did they separate from the main body? was there any connection or communication in the Old Empire period? why the entire difference in culture?

To say as one writer does, that the whole Maya race once lived on the Pánuco coast, learned to cultivate maize, and then started south (incidentally dropping the small Tuxtla statuette as they went down the coast), and then entered their historical territory and suddenly developed the great culture we know, is sheer guessing for the sake of guessing; also it is against the whole line of their own stories, especially the Tzeltal legends of their incoming to the Usumacinta region. To say also that they thus passed from non-agricultural barbarians to high civilization, knowledge of astronomy and the development of their calendar within some five hundred years, is sheer absurdity. We must simply admit that back of say 200 B. C. the habitat of the Maya is an unknown quantity, and their previous location and origin still more so. When we shall hereafter learn who they were, whence they came, and whence they derived their knowledge, we should then be able to say, perhaps, when and how the Huasteca broke off from the main body. For my own part I suspect this to have been a small, independent migration; but when it was, and where the Maya were when it came about, I have no grounds even to hazard a guess. We can only be glad to have so remote a Mayance branch to work into our linguistic studies, scanty

as it is; its value lies in its very remoteness linguistically and geographically, and its non-possession of the culture. A key may in time be found *through* Monte Albán.

Let the reader now take the accompanying linguistic map; also read the introduction to the Delgado narrative, *From Manché to Bacalar in 1677*, in this issue, with its accompanying 16th century period map. He will see the territory of the great monument builders covering this entire region of the great rivers, from Copán to Comalcalco, in *tierra caliente* from sea-level up to about 1500 ft. elevation. This is bounded on the south by the slopes of the central cordillera, from Honduras to Chiapas; on the north it seems to be limited by the non-river territory north of Lake Petén and the San Pedro river. Within this triangle of which the points are roughly Copán, Tikal and Palenque the monument builders worked; in this we find the great stelae in their profusion.

Some ten years ago the Yucatán region was for us practically a "New Period" culture region, almost without inscriptions or monumental dates. But the discoveries of the past two or three years have changed that markedly, in a historical and cultural sense; and evidences of a great cultural occupation in our early Maya times have been multiplying rapidly—we might say, around Cobá as a radiating centre. So far from simplifying our problem, it complicates it greatly—for the present. Instead of what we then thought, a progressive abandonment of the southern sites, and a movement to the north by one part of the population and southwards by another part up onto the Guatemala Altos, to develop the corresponding Maya kingdoms of Xius and Itzás in Yucatan, and the Quichés and others in Guatemala, we may well have had a far-reaching Maya occupation of *all* the lowlands, clear up north to Yaxuná, Cobá and Tulúm. Accompanying this widespread distribution of the Maya race we may then have had two types of city-building and stone use, one running to great carved monuments and the other to great stone roads. Then, both these activities ceasing, we would get what are to us still the Maya Middle 'Dark' Ages, and the following later kingdoms arising as did those of Europe after the Roman débâcle had spent its force; also about the same dates, after the year 1000.

What happened in either south or north in the preceding centuries, to cause the decay and final abandonment of the great monumental cities and the disuse (if so) of the Cobá roads, is wholly dark. We can only say that owing to the survival of the Maya Chronicles, with their series of dates, the intervening northern history is a little less blank to us than the southern. For while the Quiché and Cakchiquel Annals, and the Chiapan Tzeltal traditions, are definitely historical as to the Quiché-

Cakchiquel kingdoms from about the year 1000 onward, and do also go back to their own "beginnings in the land", still the earlier times are misty and mythological.

In our analysis of the Mayance languages the following specific points must be noted. First, for the southwestern Guatemala Mams, and their cousins the Ixils, we have remains too scanty and too poorly done to be of great value. We only know that they are close, and that they also influence or include local dialects, of particular towns, like the Aguacateca, Chuje, etc. In fact, we seem to have more petty dialects in this group than in any other. Literature as such is practically non-existent; there is one, very poor, Mam grammar and vocabulary, the Reynoso of 1644; a very small Ixil *Arte* of about 1800; hardly 20 pages of ms. items in all besides, and then Stoll's modern studies. Culturally, historically and linguistically our knowledge of this branch is almost a blank, save for just enough to make linguistic comparisons in our general study.

For Tzeltal we have a quite full dictionary in two volumes, still in manuscript, Tzeltal-Spanish and Spanish-Tzeltal, written by Ara about 1560; then copied with some additions by Guzmán about 1600. A short grammar also by Ara; about 700 octavo pages of sermons written about 1560, by Ara and by fray Bartolomé Temporal; also a *Doctrina* written by Ara and copied by another in 1621. Also two or three small *doctrinas*, and then an excellent modern grammar and vocabulary by Pineda, printed in 1888.

To the above must be added an extensive Spanish-Tzotzil Dictionary, in manuscript, copied from a probably 16th century original; a rather lengthy and interesting Proclamation, in Tzotzil, calling on His Majesty's faithful subjects to contribute funds for the war against the "murderer Napoleon"; and also a 287 page grammar, *doctrina* and vocabulary, manuscript of the early 18th century. With these a few small modern pieces. Our Tzeltal-Tzotzil vocabularies will thus run about 4000 words, with enough texts in the oldest period to give us substantial material for linguistic reconstruction and comparisons.

Next in linguistic order we come to the little known Choltí, of which we have however one invaluable work—the *Libro grande* of fray Francisco Morán, spoken of in the introduction to the Delgado narrative. This work, together with other later small pieces, shows us conclusively the existence of a single linguistic region stretching all across the above land of the great river systems. The Choltí is clearly identical with the Chortí still spoken around Copán, and over into eastern Guatemala.

North of Cahabón there are still found Chols, much crowded by the pushing Kekchís. Choltí further shows strong affinity, both in vocabulary and declensional structure, with Maya; but the language itself is clearly in a group with the Chiapan branches. That is, it is descended from, and still exists in the region of the Old Empire *monument-building* stock; and further, it is the bridge between the northern and the southern branches.

As constantly reappearing through the analysis of the day-names in my *Outline Dictionary of Maya Glyphs*, there is repeated clear evidence of a set of archaic words, often with their actual meanings lost, preserved in common in Maya and Tzeltal, as distinct from both the Quiché and the Kekchí-Pokom groups. In other words, there is a preserved traditional connection, shared by the Maya and Tzeltal, in the nomenclature of things pertaining to ancient Maya wisdom; this linguistic status is not shared either by the Quiché or the Kekchí-Pokom *highland* branches, giving us two broad groups with all the *tierras calientes* in one class, and the *Altos* of Quiché and Vera Paz in another. And this accords with the idea of a single linguistic-cultural occupation in the "Old Empire" period, including the territory of both the Tzeltal-Chol and the Maya. That is, from Chiapas across northern Guatemala to Copán, and also northwards to the sea, with a probable subjection, or at least openness, to Mexican influences in the northwest corner.

This division is further strengthened in other ways. First, the Quichés in their Annals no longer used the *tun* or 360-day year as their chronological unit, but instead a 'year' of 400 days, keeping a purely vigesimal count all the way. But their highest numeral seems to have been that for 8000, *chuy*, corresponding to the Aztec *xiquipil* and Maya *pic*; the Maya went on up by 20's to the *alau*, 64,000,000. Next, while the highland branches retain the broad characteristics of Mayance word-formation and syntax, just as French and Spanish still show their Latin descent, still these languages of the *Altos* show marked signs of breaking away from type, just as French is less Latin than Spanish. While the Choltí, although of the Tzeltal main group, is closer to Maya than any other independent speech of our whole list.

One further fact is noteworthy: Of the pair of liquids, *l*, *r*, there is no *r* in Maya, only *l*; the same holds for both early Tzeltal and Tzotzil, although an *r* appears in the Pineda Tzeltal of 1888. The Choltí, as shown by the Morán manuscript for the Early Manché district, also has no letter *r*, although all Choltí words with *l* reappear in the later 19th century Honduran Chortí as spelled with *r*, the *l* having been entirely lost. Again we have Yucatan, Manché and Chiapas with an

identical use, opposed by the highland Quiché and Kekchí-Pokom, which latter have both *l* and *r*. And all this now fits in with the above mentioned extension of Old Empire territory at least all through northeastern Yucatan as is now becoming recognized.

The foregoing summarizes the linguistic survey of the Mayance branches, subject to various minor, or merely dialect variations. Most of these will have to be treated in detail in our coming series of Mayance grammars, but a couple of cases should be mentioned for their historical and cultural significance.

In the first place, although the intervening Kekchí had their own set of month or *vinal* names (for which see in our December number), nevertheless we find in the Pokom to the south the actual intrusion of two Maya month names (the only ones given) in their proper Maya form, and their proper Landa position in the year. The why of this is hard to see.

Next, in Pokom at least (where our material is much fuller than in Kekchí, we find another Maya fact in the preservation of the numeral *calab* for 160,000, the Quiché (so far as appears even in their many and full early dictionaries) having stopped with that for 8000.

Again, we find definite evidence of the pushing strength of the vigorous modern highlanders, both Quichés and Kekchís, over into their less resisting neighbors; Cakchiquel words or forms pushed, over objection, into Pokomán; Kekchí things, or their names, like *pot* for the woman's waist, the *huipil*, pushed into both Quiché and Chol ground, each of which however kept their own root words for 'sew'.

So that we can finally postulate a three-fold division of language or culture: first, a hot territory occupation, north and south, divided linguistically into two main sections, the northern in the land of no rivers, and the southern in that of many and great rivers; and also perhaps marked by stela-carving and road construction as dominant features. Second, a third phase, distinct from both the above, as arising in the 6000 to 10,000 foot levels of the sierras, and probably about 600 to 800 A. D.

We have above given an outline of the available material for the study of the minor branches of Mayance—minor from standpoint of amount. For the other three divisions our equipment is quite magnificent.

For Pokonchí of Vera Paz we have not quite half of the great 1000-page folio dictionary of Zúñiga, dating about 1600. About a hundred years later our delightful padre Morán took this work, with others, and rewrote almost the whole, making the very minor changes to conform to the Amatitlán region, around Guatemala city. The missing parts of

the Zúñiga are almost all in the Morán. Morán also wrote a *Lives of the Saints*, with interlinear Spanish, and linguistic notes; also a grammar; and all parts of his works are filled with most painstaking analyses of words and constructions. He is apt to give a whole page to possible ways of expressing something, and then finish: "Now that is the best I can do; if you can find a better, do it."

In doing this he throws a strong light onto obscured questions of form and syntax in both Quiché and Maya, so much so that after years of trying at the others, it was only after I had fully transcribed and worked out the Pokom, that the structure and methods of Mayance began to take real shape. Besides Zúñiga and Morán we have some 1600 closely written pages of early *Sermonarios*, from the middle 16th century on—not considering quite a list of small and more modern pieces.

For the neighbor and cousin of the Pokom, the Kekchí, we have about half of a 16th century grammar (152 pages out of over 300 in the original volume); another quite full early grammar; an excellent bilingual *Sermons* of the 18th century; a good number of early legal and other documents going back to the early 16th; the *Cancer* 16th century church Hymns in Kekchí; a thick early volume of sermons; and a lot of minor pieces. Most regrettably we have no early dictionary, nor any record that one was ever written. But there are some seven modern vocabularies, out of which I have built up a fairly respectable working list of some 4000 words, which can be amplified through the above texts, and by comparative study first with the Zúñiga-Morán material, and also other Mayance. We can place Kekchí as to words and phonetic shifts through this, and later analyses of the texts can develop its special differences in syntax.

For the Quiché-Cakchiquel-Tzutuhil division, on the highlands of Guatemala, our material is easily double that of any other native American language. Over fifteen early dictionaries, from two or three hundred to a thousand pages folio; these of different style and type, according to the writer, several of them painstakingly analytic in giving all possible words and forms and constructions.

With these we have at least as many grammars, going back to Vico (who died in 1555 leaving over 1500 pages in ms.); documents, and church records, and literally thousands of pages of early *Sermonarios*, largely dating back to Vico. The Maya Society collection includes not less than one hundred numbers, of the above, amounting to over 20,000 pages; and all the most important part (the dictionary and grammar part) not only either in original or photographs, but also transcribed in typewriting.

In Yucatan the early friars paid far less attention to the native tongues than their companions did in Guatemala, or even over in Mexico. The great work is of course the Motul Dictionary, in two parts; the Maya-Spanish of about a thousand pages, and the much later attached volume of Spanish-Maya, about 400. The San Francisco Dictionary, two parts, 400 pages folio. The unique printed Coronel Arte of 1620 and his other two printed volumes of the same date; the *Discursos* of 512 pages is almost the only early religious material we have; all three originals are in the Society's collection.

Most of our manuscript Maya material consists of three main sorts: early records, chronicles, family papers like those of the royal Xius and Cocomes, starting almost with the Conquest, with documents such as land titles, etc.; and then the very large body of treatises on the use of the native plants for the cure of disease, an empiric science much higher in grade than European medical practice of the date, being almost wholly free both from the "witchcraft" and the "hot and cold humors," and bleeding type. Finally the immensely important archaic ceremonial material such as in the Chumayel, Kaua, or the Bacab Ritual.

Thanks however to the enthusiasm of Juan Pío Pérez, following in the steps of Coronel, San Buenaventura and Beltrán, we have for Maya actually the best set-up in *printed* dictionary and grammar material of any Middle American language, indeed of any American Indian tongue from the Rio Grande south. Early Maya, such as the Chumayel and like texts, simply cannot be translated without the Motul; nevertheless the Pío Pérez dictionary constantly has words, even important ones, that do not appear in the Motul.

The list of Maya mss. runs to something over thirty; again substantially all in the Society's collection, in original or photograph. The printed items list, besides the above grammars and dictionaries, includes a long line of minor pieces, of different kinds. There is quite a string of attempts at grammars in the last forty years, but nothing in that line since the time of Pío Pérez is worth the paper it is printed on, and is only a block and hindrance to the study of Maya, instead of a help.

Finally, since this article is designed to give our readers a general view of the field and its possibilities for study, it may be worth while to add something of what has been done within the Society toward the preparing of the material.

First, practically all the ms. grammars in the different branches of the Mayance, have been made easy for use, and editing, by being type-written off. Next, for the vocabulary side, the method was taken of transcribing in duplicate all the early dictionaries, in full; one copy

bound, the other distinguished by color marks, and then all entries clipped up, sorted into order (reversing the Spanish-Indian), into not merely a Quiché or other alphabetical order, but a sorted arrangement according to their roots, and then cross-indexed in the alphabet. When pasted down, this brings everything told about any root, word or form, by *all* the different writers, at once before the eye on a single page, for correlation and editing.

To date, the entire Pokonchí-Pokomán material has been so coordinated and collated. The entire body of Kekchí word-lists has been done the same. The work on typing and coordinating the Tzeltal-Tzoʔil is about half done. All the great early Quiché-Cakchiquel dictionaries (Vico, Basseta, Ximénez, Varea, Angel, Guzman, Santo Domingo, and a number of anonymous) have been thus finished, and the resulting sheets run to some 2000 pages single spaced typewriting. The Choltí has been done. Also the Mam-Ixil. And finally the Maya (which had been left until light on *Mayance* should be first derived from the others, is under way, in similar fashion, all available material, manuscript or printed, being brought together in a single order. All Spanish-Maya has been reversed, and the entry slips thus number about 100,000 exclusive of the printed large Pío Pérez and the (rather doubtful) Brasseur vocabulary, both of which latter were left for later checking in, when all the rest had been built into one straight order.

It had been my intention to publish one or more of the southern dictionaries and grammars first, the Pokom or Quiché, for the light they give on Mayance; but the calls for a complete Maya work have been so many, that as soon as the Dresden Codex facsimile and my Maya grammar are off the press (both this year I now hope), right-of-way goes to the Maya, which is to be then: Maya-English-Spanish, together with the cognate forms in other branches; and with all needed illustrations in the Motul and elsewhere, kept.

After that the program shall be: the other branches, dictionaries and grammars; and finally a composite comparative Mayance vocabulary, showing the sound-mutations, differences in word-stock, and in declensional methods. The cards for this last stage are being filled out as the early separate stages get carried on; and the final objective is what I have for this quarter-century past worked to see established—a sound science of Comparative Mayance Linguistics. When that is done, and I have had my say on the Dresden Codex, I shall feel that I have built the collection I have gathered in these last thirty years, into an established science, and can then leave the Maya Society with its new body of students, where I want to see it.

X'TABAY—THE ENCHANTRESS

By JOHN HUBERT CORNYN

Pit mánhán in-yacunah
tíolal a-chichpamil.
In-puczikál in-kubma atial.
Tu-papalancil bey ixmahana.

Very intense is my love
for thy beauty.
I have given my heart to thee.
It flutters like a butterfly.

Hach che-hatǵ'utǵ u-tuknel a-uich.
Tu-lempahal bey kin tu-na cáan.

Very beautiful are the pupils of
thine eyes.
They shine like the Sun in the
House of Heaven.

Cin-tǵ'íboltic hihilancil bey can
utíal in-bakimba ti tech.

I would crawl like a serpent
to entwine myself about thee.

Tu-tǵ'ú in-puczikál úchan lob
ti pencech yacunah ti tech.
Tz'u yáxtal u-lóbil in-puczikál,
bey u-yáxcil u-pach macech.

Deep in my heart there is grief
because of my great love for thee.
Great is the grief of my heart,
like the green shoulders of the
macech.

Tulácal uayilóbe yan u-kaicechób;
tumén mánahán a-cíchpamil,
x'tabay.

All here must sing to thee;
for great is thy beauty, enchantress.

A-uaymón yetel u-pácat u-tuknel
a-uich,
bey u-uaytic lúum nucich zay.

Thou woundest us with thy glances
from the pupils of thine eyes.
as the great ant *zay* lacerates the
earth.

The legend of the X'tabay is so general in Yucatan that it not only forms the subject of numerous folk-tales but is introduced into songs and poems, as here. One of the interesting features of this little lyric is that the word x'tabay is used in its more or less primitive sense of the enchantress, who was the ancient goddess of the hunt, through whose agency the master priest enchanter of the hunting ceremonies, who led the hunting party, deceived the animals they had set out to hunt, by means of "her great magic." The poetical sense of the word here is that of all-entrancing love, that leaves the lover completely helpless under the spell of the enchantress.

NOTES

Ixmahana, a large brown butterfly measuring from eight to twelve inches from wing tip to wing tip, found all over Yucatan. Like the bat it is nocturnal in its habits. In the morning twilight it enters some house, fastens itself to the ceiling and clings there, like a bat, all day. But when the evening twilight comes it leaves its perch and, fluttering about with fast-moving wings, seeks a place of exit. If it does not succeed

in getting out at once, it becomes very excited. The poet's use of the **ixmahana** as the symbol of fluttering, excited heart is quite effective in a land where this great moth is much more common than the bat in other countries. The **ixmahana** is named after its characteristic habit of "borrowing" its bed-room. The word is composed of **ix**, sign of the feminine gender; **mahán**, to borrow; **na**, a house. It literally means "he who borrows his home or dwelling place."

Che-hag'-utz, is composed of **che** (used in compounds), pure, fresh, uncooked, unchanged as to its original form; **hag'** (**hach**), very, expressing intensity; **utz**, good, beautiful, well-formed, handsome. The compound means very handsome, the very perfection of beauty.

In-bakimba is composed of the verb **bak**, to envelop, to wind about, and the reflexive pronominal expression **in . . . imba**, I myself; and it has the sense of I wind myself about something.

Tuknel-ich (**tuknel avich**) has for its fundamental root, to express from, **tuk** (the Aztec **coyolli**), a dark-brown round nut from which an excellent oil is extracted. **Tuknel-ich** is the round part of the eye, the eye-ball; **tuknel avich**, the ball of thine eye.

Macech, a small green-backed animal that makes its home in old trees. It is said to eat decayed wood; and every Indian in Yucatan will assure you he *knows it does*. The word itself seems to have been built on this supposition. **Mak** is to eat soft things like fruit and honey, which of course includes decayed wood; **che**, wood, tree, the terminal **e** of which has been transferred to the beginning of the root (**ech**), because of the **k** preceding it; and this latter is itself softened into **c** because of the presence of the following vowel.

Zay, a large red ant which destroys trees, orchards and even whole forests. It strips the leaves and everything green from plants and trees; and it digs out hollows or caves in which to live. As an adjective the word means numerous-pointed, many-teethed extending forward; sharp-pointed.

Sun in the House of Heaven. This seems to be an old Toltec myth introduced into Yucatan probably at the time when this race was overrunning all southern Mexico and much of Central America, according to which the Sun, starting his daily journey from the celestial regions, where he had his regal throne, issued through the golden gates of the Aurora. It was through these same gates that brave warriors who had died in battle, entered the home of the 'great giver of light,' to form part of his regal escort, as he marched in state across the heavens. They were given this honor and distinction because of the glory they had brought to the Sun himself, through their valor and signal feats in war; for the Sun was "master of their organization and creator of their being." Warriors of the eagle and warriors of the tiger are represented in the codices, in full war regalia, holding up their shields in adoration to the Sun.

Through the Gates of the Aurora, came the war song, "Song of the Aurora", while the war god scattered strife, in the shape of celestial flowers, upon the earth, urging the brave to strive for the glory and honors of battle. Straight to these same gates led the "Pathway of the Dawning" over which every brave warrior ultimately traveled to the Home of the Sun.

Back in the days of the pre-conquest Indian empires, an Indian poet thus described the glories of the House of the Sun:

"There the splendor of the rays of the Sun, shining, gleaming like the morning dewdrops, streams upon us, touching the innermost centres of our hearts. I would

have thee, oh my companions, feel the fullness of his glory, sense the majesty of his flowery splendor that, opening wide its blossoms and unfolding its canopy of leaves, invites thee to enter and there to gather to yourselves the brilliant, odorous, many-colored flowers of glory."

MAYA METRE

Maya, like English, largely a monosyllabic language, has much variety in its metre. In this respect it differs from Aztec, which, apart from variations in the court songs, uses but one metre, the trochaic, which was forced upon the Aztec poets by the agglutinated nature of the language and the fact that every Aztec word of two or more syllables has the final accent on the penultimate. The Maya musicians have ever been as fond of variations in their compositions as the poets. The Maya bards were free to introduce as many metrical variations as suited them into their verse, just as the Latin poets were; and the composer of *X'tabay* has made full use of this privilege. His lines contain trochees, amphibrachs and amphimacers distributed in a manner that gives notable vivacity to the composition.

The first two lines have each two trochees followed by one amphimacer; the third two trochees and two amphimacers; the fourth one amphibrach, two trochees and one amphimacer:

pít-mǎn hán-ǐn yá-cǔ-náh
 tí-ǒl ál-ǎ cích-pǎ-míl
 ǐn-pǔc zí-kǎl ǐn-kǔb-má á-tǐ-ál
 tú-pǎ-pǎl án-cǐl béy-ǐx má-hǎ-ná.

In *bey ix* the two vowels *y* and *i*, being both unaccented, coalesce forming one vowel thus leaving the foot trochaic; otherwise it would be a dactyl, which the Maya poets never used because of the amphimacer accentuation of three syllable words common in the language.

In the second verse the first line has a trochee and an amphibrach followed by a second trochee; the second line two amphibrachs and a trochee ending with another amphibrach; the third line two amphibrachs, a trochee and an amphimacer; while the fourth has two amphibrachs and an amphimacer:

hách-chě hǎdz-útz-ǔ tǔk-něl
 tú-lém-pǎ hǎl-bé-y kín-tǔ nǎ-cá-ǎn
 cǐn-dzí-bǒl tǐc-hí-hǐl án-cǐl bé-y-cǎn
 ǔ-tǐ-ál ǐn-bá-kǐm bá-tǐ-téch.

Still more metric variation is shown in the third verse, the first line of which has three amphibrachs; the second two amphimacers and a trochee; the third two amphibrachs and two trochees; and the fourth four trochees, thus forming a strong ending for the stanza.

tŭ-dzú-ŭn pŭc-zí-kǎl ŭ-chán-lŏb
 tí-pĕn-céch yá-cŭn-áh tí-tĕch
 dzŭ-yáx-tǎl ŭ-lób-ŭl ín-pŭc zí-kǎl
 bé-yŭ yáx-ŭl ú-pǎch má-céch

The fourth verse, which has the lyrical, lilting march so often characteristic of Maya songs, displays an interspersing of metrical measures, forming, in themselves, the essence of varied movement. The first line is made up of an assembly of marching feet: two amphibrachs, an amphimacer, a third amphibrach and a concluding trochee, the two syllables of which are so evenly accentuated as practically to form a spondee. The second line consists of four amphibrachs; third also of four amphibrachs reinforced by a concluding amphimacer, which is *trochaic* in its effect because of the succession of three vowels. The fourth line concludes the poem with rapidly marching feet, two amphimacers and three trochees, giving notable metrical vivacity to the poetical image of the great ant, the zay, driving his devastating way into the bosom of the earth, just as the glance of the enchanter penetrates the heart of the lover.

Tu-lá-cal u-ló-bil yán-u-ká i-céch-ob
 tu-mén-ma na-hán-a cich-pá-mil x'ta-báy
 a-uáy mon-yé-tel u-pá-cat u-túk-nel á-u-ích
 bé-y-ú uáy-tíc lu-um nú-cich zá-y.

For metrical reasons the division of words above follows the sound as heard in marking of the scansion, rather than that of the derivation.

In marking the accented syllables the stress accent is used instead of the Latin mark for the long vowel, more for convenience in typing than for any other reason; though it may be stated that the Maya poets, in their metric accentuation, paid no attention to the length of the vowel except where it corresponded to the natural stress of the voice in speaking; and the modern bards follow the same rule.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The whole matter of Maya metre is so new and hitherto untouched, that I feel I should add here paragraphs from Mr. Cornyn's letter of transmission. In his own notes I think he was too modest in his demands on the space of the QUARTERLY. In his letter he says:

"The enclosed lyric, which gives another phase of the **X-tabay** myth, seems to be interesting for the local color it contains. The accentuation followed in it has been made to conform with the pronunciation of the party who dictated the poem to me.

"I have made a study of the metre as, so far as I know, no one has heretofore paid any attention to it. Its irregularity, within certain well defined boundaries, and the fact that it seems to be governed by the natural accentuation of the Maya tongue, seem to me to make it worthy of careful study, more especially as the Maya music generally conforms to metrical variations of the verse. This, in itself, opens up a wide and interesting field of research, which is practically virgin.

"As most Maya words of three syllables are accented on the first and the terminal syllables, this gives a natural amphimacer foot; and one would expect to see the amphimacer metre extensively used in Maya verse. Undoubtedly this would have happened were it not that the words of one and two syllables far out-number those of three or more. This then makes it easy to convert the heavy amphimacer into the light, marching amphibrach and trochee so well suited to the Maya temperament. If a one-syllabled word is placed before an amphimacer: $_ \cup _$, thus: $\cup _ \cup _$, it is converted into an amphibrach $\cup _ \cup$ followed by an accented catalectic syllable: $\cup _ \cup _$, which only needs the addition of a second monosyllable: $\cup _ \cup _ \cup$ to make it a trochee, $_ \cup$. This is an additional reason why the amphibrach and the trochaic feet are favorites with the Maya poets. Thus it will be seen that the Maya metric feet depend much on the use of monosyllables, as does English metre.

"In the first line of the poem under discussion, *mánhán* has two long vowels about equally accentuated; but this accentuation is disturbed by the monosyllables before and after it. *Pit*, because of the intensive idea which it contains, tends to carry its own stress; while *in* loses its stress before the following amphimacer, which naturally begins with an accented and ends with another accented syllable. This throws the poetic accent of *manhán* on the final syllable, and the line naturally resolves itself into two trochees and an amphimacer. This latter is all right here, because it expresses the steady intensity of love, far from the marching movement of the amphibrach and the trochee.

"The second line begins with an amphimacer *tiólál*; but this is resolved into two trochees by the addition of the unaccented enclitic *a*: *tí-ol ál-a*, leaving the amphimacer *cich-pa-mil* to express the continued intensity of beauty. It is not likely that the poet understood this mechanism and the natural law of the use of words suited to the poetic measure, and, vice versa, of fitting the measure to the words and sentiment; but being a poet, he naturally *felt* it and expressed it."

I can only add that every word of the foregoing fits completely with the free fluidity of Maya, and all Mayance, expression: wherein word-formation and syntax, under the agglutinative character of the language, are almost one and the same thing, and give to Maya speech and even prose, much of the instant vividness of poetry and music. This is at least equally true in the Guatemalan branches, especially the Quiché and Pokom, wherein our material for forming judgment is largest.—W. G.

FROM CAHABON TO BACALAR IN 1677

Translated by ETHEL-JANE W. BUNTING

Introduction

The following account is taken from the original manuscript of friar Joseph Delgado. The region involved is of special interest for that it was at this time the seat of the last independent Indian kingdom in America, and that the Maya hieroglyphic books are known to have been still in use. Eight years after this Relation Juan Xiu of Maní in Yucatan wrote a page in his family records, which he there said he was taking from "a very ancient book written in characters." Eighteen years after fray Delgado made this trip, the kingdom of the Itzás at Tayasal in Lake Petén broke under the coming of the Ursúa forces; and the record of that adventure tells of the books they had, in their characters.

At this time the Spanish occupation and government from Mérida reached east to Valladolid, with a settled occupation at Bacalar, near the east coast. Some 20 or more leagues south of these places were the two large Indian towns of Tihosuco and Tipú, from the former of which started the great uprising of 1847, which drove the whites out of all places but Mérida, and but for differences between the two Indian leaders, Cecilio Chi and Jacinto Pat, would doubtless have taken that city also. On the west coast the Spanish influence was restricted to the coast line around Campeche.

The government from Guatemala was in control of that country from the Pacific north to where the high mountain ranges fell off into the lowlands, north of Huehuetenango, Cobán and Cahabón. All the intervening territory, from a little south of the 16th parallel up to the low Yucatecan sierra south of Uxmal and Tekax, was Indian. That it was densely populated is shown not only by the present Relation, but by all other accounts we have. Cárdenas, in the early 17th century, placed the population at half a million; probably referring to the entire region. In 1637 fray Francisco Morán gave the figure of 100,000, probably referring only to the district south of the Itzá lake. This latter region then bore the name of Tezulutlán, and known to the Spaniards as the Land of War, a term changed in 1547, ten years after the coming of Las Casas, Angulo and Cancun, to Vera Paz. But this name, land of True Peace, remained more a desire than a fact for the next 150 years, until the events that ushered in the final almost complete disappearance of the Indian population (or any other) which we find today in the entire region. We must also note that population statements usually counted only the adult males; see in this manuscript.

In 1525 Cortés made his great trip across from Campeche to Honduras to punish Cristóbal de Olid, passing in peace through Tayasal. Thirteen years after the conquest of Guatemala the first entry from the south was in 1537, as above. In 1555 fathers Vico and Lopez were killed among the western Lacandonés, in the Acalá district. In 1564 there were efforts to establish the province of Manché. In the record of this attempt we are told of four great rivers watering the country, three falling to the west and the Usumacinta delta, and the fourth to the east. The first three were the Tutulhá, from Guatemala through Vera Paz; the Canquén flowing west from Manché; the Icbolay, starting in the mountains of Vera Paz, and passing near Cobán. The fourth, the Petená, was said to rise six days journey from Cobán, pass through Manché, and (continuing eastward) end with two days navigable course at S. Tomás de Castilla.

No proper understanding of the habitation and changing history of this whole

region from the Bay of Honduras, across the southern and middle Yucatán peninsula, to the Tehuantepec isthmus, can be had without considering these great river systems. In fact, they bulked quite largely in the middle 17th century, as needing to be freed from Indian control in order to bring agricultural and other products across the country. Even the need for a safe transit of silver is mentioned. In this the reader at first finds difficulty in the constantly changing names. Not only do the rivers bear different names at different times, but nearly all have in addition local names for short stretches.

To get a general idea from our modern maps, we first see the Lacantun rising in Chiapas, flowing southeast a hundred miles, then north, and then west. The Chixoy rises near Huehuetenango, goes east to near Cobán, and then north; the Pasión (called by Delgado the **Yaxal**), rises in British Honduras south of the Cockscomb Mts., meets the Lacantun and Chixoy about 50 miles southwest of Lake Petén, to form the Usumacinta. These are the first three above. Rising north of the lake is a lesser stream, the San Pedro, which enters the Usumacinta just south of Laguna de Términos. Our fourth river above, the Petená, is of course the Cahabón and Polochic, flowing east and with its navigation head at Telemán.

If now we add to this picture the Motagua River, passing by Quiriguá, and the Copán River in Honduras, and then the Grijalva system draining Palenque and Comalcalco in the west, we have a large river-threaded territory that was the seat of the great Old Empire *monument building* civilization. And it was the central part of this territory which it was sought in 1639 to erect into the Province of Prospero or Lacandón, and Manché—the western and eastern parts respectively.

North of the San Pedro we come to the riverless country of northern Yucatan, dependent on its cenotes and lakes or smaller *aguadas*, giving a physical condition that must inevitably have reacted upon the occupying civilization.

This Tezulutlán region we are considering was again divided into two parts, east and west, by the character of the Indian population. Those to the west, the Quelenes, Lacandones and Acalanes, were always intractable and warlike, first toward the eastern Indians and later the Spaniards. Those in the east were called **Putunes**, the peaceable and inoffensive, or **Choles**, farmers, *milperos*. (North of these, the Itzás, ruling from Tayasal to which they had migrated before the coming of the Spaniards, as a result of the troubles in Yucatán, do not seem to have been so aggressive.) The western Tezulutlán thus does not figure much in the various Entrada relations we have, and finally reached a state of almost complete depopulation and inaccessibility. Nearly every explorer has found himself almost stalled in the attempt even to cross the country, leaving the marvelous carving of lintel and throne at Piedras Negras for Alden Mason at last to find.

The eastern territory was called El Manché, a name that has now disappeared from the maps, but from the directions we find must have been just about north of Cahabón. As a town it was the capital of the province, being so named with 17 other "towns" therein in 1625. Nineteen more unnamed "towns" were also mentioned, but even the 17 and Manché itself are nearly all in lost locations. In 1632 Manché had its name changed, for luck we may suppose, to "the city of Toro de Acuña," to "safeguard the road to Petená, 10 leagues away, at the embarkation point for S. Tomás de Castilla," that is, at Telemán on the Polochic. By 1635 the entire province had been again lost to the Indians, these having already in 1630 come close to Cobán itself.

Some time during the above period, fray Francisco Morán had penetrated to the country of the Lacandones and Choles, had compiled a dictionary of some 4000 words,

a grammar, and a doctrina. This work is said to have been somewhat added to by other missionaries, and was finally all copied in a single volume, finished as we are told at San Lucás de Tzalac de el Chol, in 1695, and somehow saved from the subsequent burning and blotting out of that settlement. This is therefore one of our linguistic documents of the very highest importance, representing as it does the local descent of the Old Empire speech *in situ*; by the use of Choltí comparisons with the modern Chortí around Copán, and the Tzeltal-Tzojil around Palenque and Ocosingo, as well as with the northern Maya, we know much that would otherwise be wholly lost concerning the relations of the different branches of the old Maya. The marked differences also between the Chol and the aggressive penetrating modern Kekchis, and their infusion of loan-words, again show much.

Returning to our Entrada problems, in 1637 the above Francisco Morán, a Dominican, and then procurador general of his province, made both written and printed memorials to the King; and in 1639 Don Diego de Vera, Ordoñez de Villaquirán, cavalier of the Order of Calatrava, etc., was made Governor and Captain General of the new Province of Prospero, "alias el Lacandón." For the present, however, little came of this.

In 1674 fray Joseph Delgado, of the Dominican convent in Guatemala, had entered the Chol territory north of Cahabón, and learned the language. As a result of this, he and the provincial Gallegos went again in 1675 and also in 1676, on trips described in considerable detail by Villagutierre, who gives a number of the same names as appear in the present Relation. This journey in 1677 and the present document seemed to have been unknown, however, to Villagutierre, and to be here published or referred to for the first time, the document itself having remained in the country instead of going as usual to Spain. No record that we know of describes any other trip along this route, which as seen below must have been almost intolerably severe travelling.

The account, written immediately after his final 25 days travel, alone and almost naked, is naturally not in a very orderly sequence, but we can piece together much of the description of the country, which seems all to have to do with river locations. This makes it particularly valuable, since in places at least the description, read in view of the necessary route, makes identifications even now possible.

The itinerary and distances are not continuous, but divided in sections. For the first section, he went from Manché, just above Cahabón, to the house of Martin Peg, some 38 leagues, in four days. That seems too good going to be true, in spite of the fact that in travel there one estimates a *jornada* or day's journey, at 8 leagues, whether afoot or ahorse; if the road is rough, a shorter actual distance counts—in general. Nevertheless, from Manché to Pusilhá is 13 leagues in our manuscript, while the airline from Cahabón to the Pasión (here Yaxal or locally Pusilhá) is 10 leagues. If we then further lay a ruler on the map, an airline east to Pta. Gorda is about 22 leagues, thence north 40 leagues to the Belize river, and then 30 more to Bacalar. This, roughly, must have been more or less his route, and the distances are not too much out from what he here gives, allowing for circuits.

We are told by earlier reports that Tzalac (where our Choltí manuscript was written) is 23 leagues north of Cahabón. Elsewhere we are told that Chol territory, up to the Mopan, speaking a different language, is some 45 leagues north and south; this is entirely too much, since the lake of the Itzás is only 30 leagues north of the latitude of Cahabón, and another Chol town mentioned in the Morán manuscript is probably the same Dolores as appears also at 30 leagues north, but to the eastward of the lake.

What is certain is that Choltí was the language from just north of Cahabón (the beginning of Manché province), up to the Itzá or Mopan-Itzá territory. These two latter were regarded as practically one, an interpreter being needed for one knowing only Choltí. (The map in Means' translation of Villagutierre, is certainly wrong in placing Chols just north of Mopanes.)

What seems to be the fact is that the Chols, descendants (with their language) of the Old Empire people who stretched from Copán clear across to Palenque, occupied the above described great river country, Tezulutlán. That then some distance north of the Pasión we come upon the Mopan-Itzás, the Tayasal Itzás, and the region occupied and influenced by the later Maya-speaking immigration from Yucatán, told in the chronicles. The exact relation of Tayasal to the earlier and later periods is still in darkness. One or two day-glyphs have been found on a Tayasal tomb, but no great inscriptions. Nevertheless at the eastern end of the lake, and overlooking it, there are at Ixlu beautifully carved stelae and an altar, in a style which bears a distinct likeness to the glyph-forms in the Dresden Codex; therefore somewhat late in Maya time.

To add to these facts, we can note that in much more modern times the Kekchís have been steadily expanding toward the north (to get away from the whites), and into southern British Honduras. Kekchí intrusions such as noted in the Sun and Moon legend in this issue, and centering around **Po** as both moon-goddess and weaver, are found not only in southern Belize territorially, but even in the Choltí vocabulary of the 17th century. This whole region of eastern Manché (Chol territory), is still well populated; while the western and the non-river regions to the north, are almost empty save for roving chicle gatherers.

Before leaving this point, it is to be noted that all this missionary penetration, and the counting of rancherías, houses and "souls" was always with the defined idea of bringing the Indians in consolidated towns, out of the forests in which they could live their own life, under "Christianizing" influences which meant only in fact their enslavement. Similar forced abandonments of their own towns, often enforced by the burning of these, were to be found in all parts of the Spanish "confines," whether Yucatan, or Manché. One such Chol transferred town is particularly mentioned, only to lead a miserable existence until absorbed in the alien surroundings.

At the house of Martin Peg, Delgado met Spaniards from Bacalar and Tihosuco. Here the story is somewhat confused, it often not being clear whether he is telling of his own itinerary or these Spaniards, or of towns on information only. It nevertheless gives a fair picture of the territory bearing off to the northwest, and the Mopan-Itzá region. A number of the Indian names are also as given by Cano and others, on their trips 40 years before: **Tzac, Yahcab, Pot**, etc.

The final part of the account tells of Delgado's determination to learn about the country by a trip through to Bacalar. This was an almost unexampled effort, and its results he has himself told. While the woods are of course more or less constantly traveled by the few Indians there, there are today only two main north and south routes. One leads from Petén straight south, following the government telegraph wire, past Lake Petexbatún, over the grueling Chinajá double ridge, to Chisec and Cobán, a ten day trip in good season, with one sleeping place a day under cover. In rains it may well take a month. The other route starts from Cahabón, runs fairly north to Dolores, and then west to the lake. Each of these routes is a well defined trail, constantly traveled by the Indian merchants, on whom in fact the town of Flores at Lake Petén has to depend for most of its outside communications.

Text of the Relation

Account of the stopping-places and rivers from the town of San Miguel Manché as far as the Itzá Indians; the road and Indians. June 7, 1677.

From Manché to the rancho of an Indian named Bol is 4 leagues.

From there to another called Marcos Zibacc is another 4 leagues.

From there to another Indian Juan Peṭṣ is 5 leagues. Here by Juan Peṭṣ the river Yaxal is called Pusilhá, formerly the site of a town called Sta. Catarina Pusilhá. To reach this rancho the large and dangerous river Yaxal must be crossed twice; first by a bridge made of a log (*punte de madero*), and the second time I crossed wading, helped by rocks at a falls in the river. There are many falls and swift rapids, but at flood-time one may also pass in a canoe or piragua.

Leaving Juan Peṭṣ, after 7 or 8 leagues I came to a stream called Concon-há, where I slept in the woods.

Leaving there, by mealtime I came to another river called Latetum, 4 leagues.

Next I came to a rancho of certain Indians called the Paches; the chief is named Vicente Pach; another 4 leagues.

Leaving here, in 5 leagues I came to the river Yaxal, having crossed that river on a wooden bridge just after leaving the house of Vicente Pach.

From there to the rancho of Martin Peṭṣ was 5 leagues. Here I found three Spaniards, residents of Bacalar, or of a town called Tiosuco, near Ascension Bay, whom the English had robbed, so that they came off into the woods. They said they knew the country, and their names were Alonso Moreno, Luís Gonzales and Antonio Mendoza. These men told me of a mozo living on the Gulf, by name Juan Alonso de Arios, who served under Captain Don Francisco Sanctos, this mozo being acquainted with the forests and speaking the language. He had also penetrated to the Ah-Mopanes, of whom I will speak later. There are also others at Bacalar and Tiosuco who know the country and the language, of whom I will also speak later.

This entire country from Manché to the rancho of Martin Peṭṣ I walked on foot in four days; at each of these rancherias there will be from twenty to thirty souls in each household. Besides this, there are numerous settlements a league or two apart, with many people; so that a famous and great town could be formed, for the smallest household will have 20, 30 or 40 souls. Other households too, close to each other, some within a quarter league, others half a league, and others three-quarters apart; others yet closer, so that the number is great, and may God bring them to a knowledge of himself. I did not visit these neigh-

boring places because the Indians who came with me from Cahbon were sick. (short break in text here)

Beyond Martin Pet̃ to the north, on another part of the Yaxal river is a rancho of Indians called the **Batenos**, and 1 league away; here were three houses and 30 souls. Half a league further is a household called **Tzanunchan**, with 10 or 12 souls.

From there to another rancheria **Yahcab**, with 40 or 50 souls in six or 8 houses, is 3 leagues.

North of this another one league away, with five houses and 30 or 40 souls; the cazique is called **Guisquin**.

From there one goes to the **Potes**, 2 leagues, with three houses and 20 souls.

One league further lives one **Tzac**, with 10 souls. And from here to Joseph Tzac is another league, and there six houses and 40 or 50 souls.

From here to the **Tehos** rancheria, two houses and 10 souls, 1 league.

Next is another rancheria **Chacticol**, with many houses and many people; there will be 80 souls with many women and children, 2 leagues. Beyond are many settlements I did not visit, while the Spaniards went off to the west. They found the following rancherías: one called **Coche**, 2 leagues, turning off from the above course, and with 30 or 40 persons. From there another called **Chicuy**, 4 leagues away; and in this district are two or three caziques, called **Chicuy**, **Quin** and **Tzac**, with over a hundred persons. They returned to the house of Martin Pet̃, and went south.

From here to **Timisique** is 8 leagues. They arrived **Atimisique**; and on the next day the English came by the river called **Tutuilhá** and captured some Spaniards and some Indians; others fled. After many days they came again to the house of Martin Pet̃. Near that are also two other households, one half a league away, the other three or four blocks (*cuadras*); these will have some 40 *personas*.

Here we made a stop to fashion a piragua in order to pass on to Bacalar; we launched it on the Yaxal river, which was in flood, and could only be crossed in this manner. We fastened it with strong ropes, and that night the river fell and left the canoe hanging in the air; so that its weight broke the ropes and the canoe went off into the sea, seven leagues away at the mouth of the river. We spent another day hunting a tree, and God gave us a ceiba tree, out of which in ten days more we made another beautiful piragua.

To gather information and learn the rivers and openings, I determined to go with the Spaniards to Bacalar, of which trip I will tell below. Here I must add that from the house of Martin Pet̃ one goes into the

country of the Mopanes and Ahitgaes; this Martin Peḡ says there is a road thither, which he has traveled and traded among them. The Ahitgaes live on an islet in a lake, and are so numerous it does not hold them, so that they have populated the mainland. The region is all flat savana, and at intervals patches of woods. A short distance from Martin Peḡ there is the house of Miguel Bohtena, on the shore of the river Ochtum.

Half a day beyond this is another ranchería Cantelacc, of the Chicuy Indians, who speak another language called Omon. One more day beyond Cantelacc is the ranchería Tixayab, and from there another day to Tisonte, where are the Ahmopanes a day and half away.

In the first there are 20 persons, and in the second, Chicuy are 40; in the other there will be 100, or many more counting the women and children. These are the Ahmopanes that are in Tixayab, and many more in Sonte, who are changed (*mudado*) by the Ahitgaes. From Sonte to the Ahitgaes it is four days travel, all savana, according to the Indians, but not direct road. Martin Peḡ said that from the town of Chocahau, which is the one before Manche, it is a direct road, the Ahitgaes not being far away. The Ahmopanes go to trade with those of Chocahau and the Indians of Augustin Coaḡan. They say that those of Xocme are very valiant, and the Ahitgaes and Ahmopanes are afraid of them.

The following rancherías are those found on the road north to Bacalar. From the river Yaxal, where Martin Peḡ is cazique, to a ranchería Cimil-ahau is 7 leagues. Thence to Yoccoba, ranchería, where Juan Cciminche is cazique, is 8 leagues. Thence to the ranchería Pococc, without a cazique, is 6 leagues. Thence to Socca, at which Jose Yahcab is cazique, 5 leagues. From there to Campim, and the cazique Juan Yahcaab, is 2 leagues. And thence to Asnas, a ranchería of the Chanes, is 7 leagues. From here to Ichtuḡ, with rancherías whose cazique is one Zicen, is 4 leagues. Thence to Hopan ranchería, whose cazique is Juan Ziccem, is 8 leagues. From here we come to a large town called Zavi, 8 leagues, whose cazique is Juan Muzul. And from there to Tipu, a ranchería of Yucatecan Indians, is a day and a half travel; this I did not see, for having embarked.

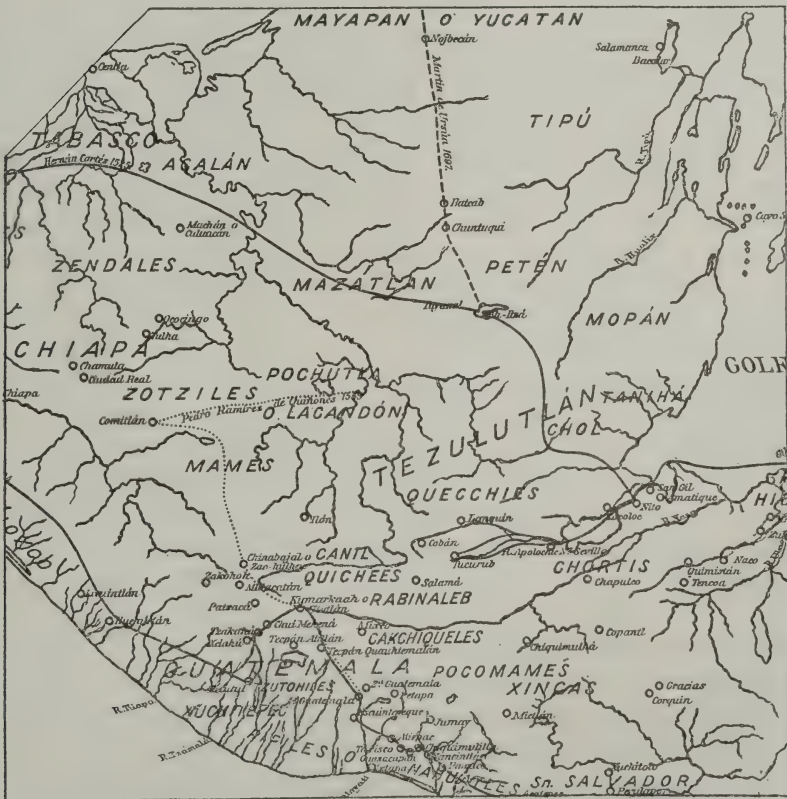
The road with the names of places from Tipu to Bacalar is as given. Those of Bacalar say it is 25 to 30 leagues by land. The places named above all have rivers, and it appears that they have the names of the rivers.

Along the sea toward Bacalar are the following rivers. From the Yaxal to Cimin is half a league; to the river Uchupan half a league; to the river Palicca, 7 leagues; to the river Vaccan, one league; to the river Vain, 2 leagues; to the river Campim, 9 leagues; to the river Puhuy, 5 leagues; to the river Soyte, 5 leagues; to the river Texocc, 2 leagues;

and thence to the river Texach, 3 leagues; thence to the river Xihum, 4 leagues; thence to the river Balis, 2 leagues.

After these two leagues one enters the river Tipu. All these rivers on the land side can be waded, since although they appear very large and broad, they have great benches of sand at their mouths.

At the river Texach, on Saturday the 21st of August, God was pleased to let me be captured by the enemy, who stripped me and left me with nothing but a shirt and a pair of ragged drawers. They took away my shoes and everything, and my boy Juan Valut, who served me and took my name, as Juan Delgado. If there is anything more, I will write it later. Dated at Bacalar the 26th of September, 1677, when I arrived covered with mud, after 25 days of having nothing to eat but wild grapes, and having suffered hungers and chills and fevers, nakednesses and discouragements, etc. FR. JOSEPH DE DELGADO.



Guatemala in 1525: Map by Claudio Urrutia.

THE HUMMING BIRD AND THE FLOWER

By J. ERIC THOMPSON

In the last number of *THE MAYA SOCIETY QUARTERLY* a paragraph of the "Eras of the Thirteen Gods and the Nine Gods" is translated:

Then **P'islimte**, he of the green bones, (or the first bones), went into the bottom of the flower, he took the form of a humming bird, and descended and sucked its honey, the nine juices within. And then he took as wife Mistress **Hoyal** flower, and then there came forth the heart of the flower, to go wandering. Of four petals was the cup of that flower, he of the sun being seated therein to be told.

This paragraph, as it stands, is not very intelligible, but I believe it can be explained by a legend which I obtained in southern British Honduras three years ago. This was current in the village of San Antonio, a Mopan village, but was undoubtedly of Kekchí origin. It is a lengthy and extremely interesting story, of undoubted great antiquity.

In one part of the story we are told that the sun, who was then a youth upon earth, fell in love with a certain girl. In order to get her favor, he converted himself into a humming bird, and flying to the house where the girl lived with her grandfather, started to suck the honey from a tobacco plant. The girl, whose name was **X'Tactani**, asked her grandfather to get the bird for her. This he did by maiming it with a pellet from his blowgun. The girl took the humming bird into her room, the innermost of thirteen rooms. During the night the humming bird turned back into the sun, and persuaded the girl to flee with him.

Later in the story the girl is killed by a thunderbolt, and brought back to life. At the same time through the curiosity of a man who was carrying sealed barrels, and couldn't resist opening them, all evil pests such as snakes, wasps, etc. were let loose on the world. After many adventures the pair ascend to heaven, he to become the sun, she the moon.

Thus the legend checks with the Chumayel story with regard to the hero turning himself into a humming bird, entering the flower, marrying the girl, and the subsequent introduction of evil. The chief conflict is that in the Chumayel story **P'islimtec** is the hero, whereas in the San Antonio legend his role is filled by the sun.

P'islimtec is I think, a corruption of the Aztec **Piltzintecutli**, meaning "Youthful Lord," a title given the sun god. In this connection I would like to call attention to an apparent mistake in Gates' translation. He translates **Ah Kin** as "he of the sun," and **xocbil** as "to be told." **Cogolludo**, however, tells us that **Ah Kin-Xooc** was another name for **P'islimtec**; though I can not suggest any meaning for the **-bil**.

There does not seem to be much connection between the sun and a god of poetry and music. Nevertheless, in the San Antonio legend the

sun plays the drum and flute on one occasion, and was also very good at posing and answering riddles. This last is a qualification required of any primitive poet, riddles playing a very important part in Maya ritual.

In the legend we are also told that the sun's wife was a very good weaver and spinner. In fact she was engaged in weaving when the sun came to court her. In native legend nothing beside the point is ever recorded, and I was puzzled at the time as to why emphasis was laid on her skill at this work. Later, on my return to Chicago, I remembered that Cogolludo had written that *Ix-Azal Voh*, the wife of the sun, was the inventress and patroness of weaving and spinning. In Kekchí a huipil is called *poot* after *Po*, the moon who invented it.

If we equate the sun with *P'islimtec*, we must also link *Ix-Azal Voh* with *Ix-Hoyal Flower*. The name of the goddess of spinning and weaving is apparently untranslatable. *Voh* or *Uoh* may be the same as *Uob*, the Maya name for the pitahaya (*Cereus undatus*). This is also listed as *Uo* or *Uon*. The reason is that a final *b* is scarcely audible in Maya. Cogolludo apparently did not have a good ear. The very lightly pronounced final *b* sometimes sounds like a slight aspirate. If the last syllable should be *Voh*, the association would be very happy, since the beautiful flowers of the pitahaya come out at night, a natural connection with the moon goddess.

I believe we can see the association between the sun, weaving and flowers better if we turn to Mexico. In Sahagun's hymns (Spence translation) we read the following:

Out of the land of the rain and the mist
I, Xochiquetzal come.
Out of Tamoanchan.

The pious Piltzintecutli weeps;
He seeks Xochiquetzal.
To the land of corruption I must go.

Here then we have the sun god seeking *Xochiquetzal*. She was a goddess of flowers, a patroness of spinning and weaving, of which she was the inventress; the goddess of love and illicit passion, and, according to one version, the first woman, and like Eve the first to fall.

Xochiquetzal clearly equates with the Maya wife of the sun. The correspondence is even closer. In the San Antonio legend we are told that *X'Tactani* was the first woman to indulge in sexual intercourse, and presumably the first woman, although there is an earlier interpolation referring to Adam and Eve. *X'Tactani* was also free with her favors. She vamped a king vulture, who eventually abducted her. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the Borgia Codex *Xochiquetzal* is shown seated opposite *Tlaca-cozcaquauhtli*, the Aztec vulture god. Similarly in the Dresden Codex an eagle-headed deity is standing in front of a woman on p. 19 (golkin 36).



Seler considers **Xochiquetzal** to be the young moon god, and he equates **Xochipilli**, the masculine lord of flowers, music and dancing, with the sun. **Xochipilli** was, of course, the male counterpart of **Xochiquetzal**.

By delving into Aztec lore, we have not only proved our connection between the moon, flowers, weaving and sexual gratification, but we have shown once more the very close similarity between Maya and Mexican beliefs. The finest example of this is, of course, the Venus cult, as demonstrated by Seler. In passing it might be noted that there is a reference to **Xochipilli** on this same page of the Chumayel. He is mentioned under his second name of **Macuil Xochitl**, here spelt **Macuil Xuchite**, probably a Toltec variant.

One more point and I believe we will be done with the matter. The last sentence of the quoted text I amend to read: "Of four petals was the cup of the flower there; **Ah Kin Xoc** seated finally in the very middle." The tobacco plant has five petals, but it is possible that the plant in the legend may in time have changed, and the original flowers, from which the sun, in his guise of a humming bird, sipped the honey, may well have been four petaled. Now the normal glyph of the day or sun in Maya looks like a four petaled flower with a small hole at the center. May not this glyph actually have represented a flower, revealing a connection with this very ancient legend, and bringing out the association of the sun with a flower? Finally, to suggest one more complication, the twentieth day sign is called **Hun-Ahpu** in Quiché. **Hun-Ahpu** was the Quiché hero of a legend closely connected with that recorded at San Antonio. He also became the sun after his wanderings on earth. In most other Mayance languages the twentieth day is called **Ahau**, which has the meaning of Lord, and was one of the titles given to the sun. In the Aztec calendar, on the other hand, the twentieth day was called **Xochitl**, meaning "Flower" and the patron deity was our friend **Xochipilli**. Thus we have also found an explanation as to why Lord Sun in Maya became Flower in Mexican. The complete San Antonio legend may be found in my work "Ethnology of the Mayas of Southern and Central British Honduras": Field Museum, Chicago, 1930. Parts of it have also been published by Burkitt, and, more recently, Franz Termer.

Editorial Note

My tentative translation of **Ah-Kin-Xocbil** was wrong; **-bil** is a specializing ending, used with persons, particularly deities, about as we use capitals, or as meaning 'one qualified as such,' cf. **Citbil**, **Mehenbil**. Apollo, in Greece again, was both the Sun and god of poetry and music.

The early Quiché ms. dictionaries all translate the 20th day-name **Hunahpu** (literally, One Master of Magic Breath) as: 'flower, or rose,' thus further confirming Mr. Thompson's association. See *Glyph Dictionary*, **Ahau**.

The glyphs in
and woman, are



the Dresden text, above the vulture
'woman, marriage, vulture.'—W.G.

THE TESTING OF THE PRINCES

Book of Chumayel, pages 28-42

By WILLIAM GATES

Introduction

One's first impression on going through the Book of Chumayel is, that it is a mere sort of commonplace book, in which the writer had copied out for himself and for preservation whatever scattered fragments he could find relating to the former history and affairs of his people. In a sense this is the case, and the volume is made up of a number of distinct sections, some of them clearly fragments, satisfactorily separable into eighteen chapters as Mediz Bolio has done in his Spanish version.

But as one studies the volume more closely, a clear thread of purpose is seen running through the whole, common to the original authors of the several pieces, and to Hoil himself, to whom we owe their preservation. Obviously Hoil is not the author of most of the volume, but I strongly suspect that the chapter running from pages 89 to 100 is entirely his, a redaction by him of earlier ideas and forms, to carry the same old burden of prophecy and hope.

By page 81 he had apparently completed his transcripts of earlier texts, and then signed his work, at Chumayel on Jan. 20, 1782. Later he added three pages of Thirteen Katun matter, and then began his own "Word" as above.

In a large part of the volume the texts are mere straight, and very careful, copies of much older records, which had been handed down either by memory as was done everywhere else in the ancient world, or through the hieroglyphic books. But in several cases these texts are made to carry a present-day message, amounting in the case of the one we publish below, to a positive incitement to "the lands" to come together, to drive out the Spaniards utterly, and restore the rule to the "legitimate lineage of the True Men." In each of these latter cases, this meaning or purpose is quite cleverly hidden by the use, especially at the beginning and end, of references to *Dios*, to Our Lady, or to Our Father the Governor, sufficient to avert suspicion by a casual reader.

The subject matter of the present chapter, that of the Testing of the Rulers, and the Riddles, is especially adapted to this double purpose of preservation of the old memories and ways, and their present use to prophesy, and *call for*, a change. One of the most important factors in Indian, both Maya and Mexican, antiquity, is the cyclic character which history and events were held by them to carry. We have fixed man-made presidential and other terms; they believed that history, progress and change had equally definite divinely appointed ones. Just as summer has to succeed winter, so had the presiding genii of the Four Quarters, with their symbolism, colors and regalia, to maintain their circuit. So again the great Mexican cycle of 52 years, and the need for a newly kindled fire to light and warm the world; again the Maya cycles of Thirteen Vinals, Thirteen Katuns, Thirteen Baktuns, shown in our first article in presenting the QUARTERLY to our friends. It was at least a deeply fixed idea that the rounding of the Thirteen Katun cycle must bring some great change in the rulership, *tu-kinil yahautil katun*. Just as fray Fuensalida was told by the Itz'as at Tayasal in 1618, that by their prophecies they knew they were to become Christians, but the time had not yet come, and he must go away.*

The present chapter is doubly interesting in that it not only reveals the existence of a parallel custom between the Spanish and the old Mayas, of a "Questioning of

the Rulers," but shows its author availing himself of this for sending out a particular call, at a particular time. Unfortunately we cannot, so far, fix the date as between several possibilities. From 1600 down to Hoil's time there were eight Spanish governors with the title of Marshal: Luna y Arellano, 1604-12; Campero, 1660; de la Barcena, 1688; de Figueroa, 1725-33; Benavides, 1743; de Navarrete, 1752; Fernández, 1758-61; de Zayas, 1765-71. Three or four of these, in the absence of more definite evidence, might have been the one referred to at the opening of the chapter.

The period of Luna y Arellano almost corresponds with the Three Ahau Katun which, according to the series in the Kauh and that on page 72 of the Chumayel, began a new cycle in 1632, Luna's rule having ended early in the Five Ahau that had closed the previous cycle. That makes this time possible, but not (I think) probable.

Next in time we have that great consolidation of Spanish power, and the definite weighty imposition of Hispanism everywhere, beginning about 1685. The Itz'as were at last subdued in 1697; as one goes through Yucatan one finds the dates 1690 and following, on nearly all the towering masses of stone that were then constructed as church buildings, built at enormous cost in labor, and dominating the lowly Indian houses like Rhine castles. With this period the character of our linguistic texts begins to change—everything is becoming Hispanized. This time is then followed by the very active rule of the Mariscal Figueroa, 1725-33; Bacalar was fortified, and there were constant engagements with the English and the "pirates," and the struggle for the possession of what is now British Honduras.

Further, in 1726 there came a terrible famine, followed in 1730 by a wide pestilence. If this period did not actually see the writing of our present chapter, as I much suspect, it certainly laid the ground for it later. (*But*, it does not correspond with a katun Three Ahau in any record I now call to mind.) From 1758 to April of 1761, Mariscal Alonso de Fernández was governor, with nothing of moment occurring during his term. But—in November of 1761 there began the great uprising of Canek, starting in the eastern part (where revolutions in Yucatan always start) at Cisteil, and in the territory of the Cocomes, always foes to the foreigners, be they Mexicans or Spaniards. The present chapter might well belong to that period.

Finally we come to Hoil's time. From 1765-71 Mariscal de Zayas was governor, the chief incident of his term being a sudden plague of locusts in 1769-70, utterly destroying the crops, and leaving the Indian population dead by thousands of straight starvation. But the reasons against this date are first the fact that Hoil has given us his own thinly veiled prophecy of a change with the end of katun Thirteen Ahau, "in 1800," in a section differing much in style and almost certainly of Hoil's own authorship. I think the whole evidence rather strongly tends to placing this chapter as referring either to Figueroa or Fernández, and as having its actual expression in the uprising at Cisteil. Then that having come into Hoil's hands, he first transcribed it, and then in time gave his own hopes for the time of the fateful Thirteen Ahau. That this time did see the end of the old European era is noteworthy; yet it still did not free the Maya. Nor do any of above dates explain the placement in 3 Ahau.

* See also the prophecy of the Chilán Balam, the high priest of Tixcacayón Cavich, at Maní, that this would be at the end of the Thirteenth Age, when the coming of the supreme god would be manifested to the world, *before the First World-Tree*, the *Yax-che*. See Villagutierre, p. 37.

As is well known, it was the Spanish custom to hold a formal "Inquiring" at the close of official terms, into the conduct of the outgoing incumbent, the *Proceso de Residencia*. This custom the Maya writer has here taken as his text, to say that the time is at hand when "our father the Señor Governor Mariscal" would have to make his report to "the King." What he really meant was that the time was near for the whole Spanish régime of blood and oppression, by the offspring of the "foolish woman" and the men of evil, to be visited, judged and expelled by the True Lord. To this he recalls the ancient testings of the young men as they arrived at man's estate, princes and True Men, of their worthiness and *understanding*; he gives us first seven questions, which the candidate answers well, and is then "recognized."

At this point, when the **Kaat-naat**, the Questioner and Initiator, has found and proved his needed men of discretion, he for the moment lets his feelings speak, and describes the end of misrule. That is however only the first stage, of testing and preparation for the conflict; a second set of similar questions follows, and then later a third series: food and sustenance must be provided for the new rulers when they take up their responsibilities. So that here, in the final series, we get twenty-one other questions, riddles, mostly punning ones, the answers being the needed kinds of food and the wine. This then climaxes in a final demand that the winged jaguar be caught and brought to the Chief, for him to eat; and the answer to that is the white and blood-stained horse ridden by the Spaniard, to be found and caught *only* by the chosen prince, of discernment and skill. When this stage in the "Inquiry" is reached, we get the direct call by the Primal True Man, sent out to the lands and towns, to gather together. "Those who lack knowledge, poor in thought and in vision, Ay nothing will they say. But those who understand, bursting is their spirit with eagerness, and they will go, will capture the winged jaguar, and will bring him."

This same double use and purport of the "hidden word," the **suhuy t'an**, is to be found at many places in our Chumayel, but nowhere more marked and vivid than here.

One other point must also be called attention to here, for its relationship to the questions of chronology, the correlation of the Maya and European calendars, and the still unsolved matter of the existence of two equally well-supported, yet differing counts in Yucatan, just as the Russians used their Old Style, different from western Europe. The evidence of these two counts, with their origin hidden in earlier history, is unmistakable; the eastern Yucatecan Mayas, Itz'ás and probably Cocomes, always resistant against foreign influences, had one count; the western Xius, yielding first to Mexicans and later to Spaniards, used another. Over ten years ago, at the time of gathering the material and translating all the Maya date passages for Morley to use for his correlation Appendix II in his *Inscriptions at Copan*, I tried to have him make this distinction clear; but he chose to suppress it, or at least minify it. As generally known, his whole Appendix II was already in type when at his request I dug out and translated these passages—resulting in the throwing away by him of what was in type, and a complete rewriting of that Appendix. At that time I considered the point a one of major weight, although still not unravelled; and I still do.

In this section, now, we seem again to have come on the conflict between Three Ahau and Thirteen Ahau as marking the cyclic end and change; but subject to the added historical difficulties noted above. I have laid aside chronology and correlation for a future (already half written) commentary on the Dresden Codex, and still do not see into the why of this variance. But I feel it of so much weight as to be clearly brought into our field of reading, with this section of our Chumayel.

Suyva t'an y naat utial ca-yum Sr. Govor Mariscal. Lay uchic ucahtal t̥uc Vaxim lae, tu-lakin Ichcaansihoo, ti yan luum uchic uyantal upakal-i y usolar, uchic ucahtal lae. Binix kuchuc tu-kin uholol ubel xan, talel ut'an uhalach-vinicil; chac ut'an ca bin uluc, chac-cix ubuc xan.

Hele-ac tu-suyva t'an, lay bin ut'an, lay bin ukat uhalach-vinicil cah lae, ca bin kuchuc tu-kin uṣ'ocol ut'an ah-ox-ahau-katun, ca bin culuc uyanal katun, ah-hun-ahau-katun. Bay alanil lae:

Hex katun hele lae, ox ahau katun; ṣ'oc-ix ukuchul tu-kinil, uṣ'ocol yahautil, y utepal; halili be, mahan-ix uyanal.

Hex hun ahau katun, culan ichil yotoch ah-ox-ahau-katun lae, yula-te, tan uṣ'abal uchaan tumenel ah-ox-ahau-katun lae, subṣil binbin-balob tu-cahalob.

Katnaat cu-talel ichil ukatunil, licil uṣ'ocol hele lae, ti kuchi tu-kinil ukatabal unaatob ubatabil-cahob, va yohelob uchic utalelob uvinicilob, yahautilob; va ḡlan utalel ubatabilob, uhalach-vinicilob, va uch'ibalob ahauob, va batab uch'ibalob ti uhahcunticob.¹

Heix uyaxchun-t'an bin katabac-tiob-e; bin ukatob uhanal: "Talex kin," ci bin ut'an halach-vinic-tiob, bay bin alabac ti batabob-e. "Talex kin, mehen-e,² ca alat'ab tin-plato, ti ch'icaan lanza caanil crus³ tan chumuc upucikal; tiix culan yax-balam yokol kin, ukic ukikel-e." Suyva unaatal. Hex kin bin katabac-tiob lae, yahau-ṡahbil hee; hex lanza y caanil crus, ch'icaan tu-pucikal-e. Lay lic yalic, lay cicit'an-e. Hex yaax-balam⁴ cancabal yokol, ukic ukikel-e, lay yaax ic, balam yani-e. Suyva ut'an lae.

Hex ucach'ic t'an bin katabac-tiob-e, ca xicob uch'aob uṣ'omel caan yilab halach-vinic, vabahun ucah,⁵ "Yan vol vilab; uchi vilab cii vil," yalabalob-e. Hex uṣ'omel caan-e, lay pom-e. Suyva.

1. **Uhahcunticob**, 3rd. pers. plur. subj. of **hah-cun**, to establish as true.

2. **Talex, mehen-e**; we shall find all the way through a constant mixing of number and person, making it at times uncertain as to just who is referred to. The Questioner is of course speaking to several or to one in particular; sometimes it is clear which, sometimes not. At times the candidate answers, or again the answer is simply related by the writer. No important confusion will be found, however.

3. In most cases the answer to the riddle clears up the metaphor, but occasionally not. At times no illustrative object is brought forth—see below, with the **yax-ixṡoy**, the great fig-tree, the earth-bearer, **otlom-cabal**. Here we have no guide to what was the lance and sky-cross. But what must be taken as certain, is that behind all these questions, especially those in the first two series, there was a double-hidden reference to symbolic subjects used in ceremonies and initiations. The apparent trivialities could not have been mere play; they must have parables, first to be unravelled as riddles, and then their real intent explained behind the veils.

4. Note the use of **yax-balam** and then **yaax-balam**. It is the custom to disregard these double vowels, which in fact are shifting in pronunciation. But **yax** very commonly means first or new; it also means the color green. There is a probable play

Words of testing and understanding for our father, the Señor Governor Mariscal; here he fixed his residence, in the district Vaxim there to the east of Ichcaansihoo, there being land there for his use as garden, and a dwelling place wherein to make his residence. Will also come the time for ending his charge, and come the orders of his Lord; harsh will be his words when he shall come, and also grave his vesture.

Behold now his word of testing; this will be said, this will be inquired by the Lord of this land, when shall come the day of the end of the rule of the katun Three Ahau, and come another katun, the katun One Ahau. Thus the speaking:

This is now the katun, the Three Ahau katun; and ended is the approach of its time, the ending of its lordship, and of its rule. It is ended, and another is at hand.

This now is the katun One Ahau, seated in the house of the katun Three Ahau here, made its guest while being given its reception by the katun Three Ahau, in attendance for their going to their towns.

The Questioner comes, in the katun which is here ending, at the coming of the time for questioning the knowledge of the princes of the lands, as to whether they know how happened the coming of the people, of the rulers, how is related the coming of the chieftains, of the men of the true caste; that they shall give evidence and prove¹ whether they are of the race of the kings, and whether a chief of the clans.

This then is the first riddle that will be asked of them; they will be asked for food: "Bring me the sun"; this will be his speech to the true men, thus will it be asked of the chiefs: "Bring me the sun, my son;² and lay it on my platter, with the spear, the cross of the sky,³ fastened at the middle of its heart; and with the green jaguar seated upon the sun, to drink its blood." Hidden is its meaning. This is the sun that will be asked from them; a large egg, fried. This the spear and the cross of the sky, fastened on its heart: this is what is said, this the reasoned speech. Here too is the green jaguar, crouched down upon it, to drink its blood: this the green pepper is here, the jaguar.⁴ Such is the secret of of the words.

This then is the second word that will be put to them, that they go and bring the brains of the sky for the True Man to see, how much they are.⁵ "It is my wish to see; giving me to see will indeed be grateful,"

here as part of the riddle, the answer bringing in the *green* pepper as an answer to the 'first sharp-toothed one.'

5. **Vabahun ucah**; this use of an adverb in place of the usual present participle with **ucah** is interesting, and shows the freedom in construction of Mayance: 'how much it makes,' *es macht viel*, quite as one says **nacal ucah**, he does a rising, for he rises.



Hex uyoxch'ic t'an bin katabac-tiob-e; ca ukaxob nohoch-na, vacg'il uvaan, hun-g'it tili yocmal.⁶ Heix nohoch-na lae, lay yahau p'oc-g'oc lae. Bin alabac ti, ca nacac yokol yahau sasac gimin;⁷ sasac unok y suyem, y sasac soot umachma tu-kab tamuk usoot-tic; uginin ti yan olomkik; tu-lol usoot ti vil ulukul-e. Heix sasac gimin lae, lay yocbil xanab, soscil kaan-e; heix sasac soot lic yalabal-e, lay sasac suyem-e, lay nicte-e,⁸ sasac g'ulub-e; heix olomkik ulol usoot-e lic ukatabal ti-e: lay takin-e yan tan-chumucex, yoklal kikil,⁹ likul tu-kikel ixma-naa, ixma-yum utalel lae.



Heix ucanch'ic t'an bin katabac-tiob-e: Ca xicob ti yotoch. Ca tun alabac-tiob: "Heix ca bin talacex avilbenex-e, tu-kak chumuc kin vale, caput palex, huk acahex; ca bin ulucex, ti yan avalpek tapachex-e; heix avalpekex loe,¹⁰ unachma upixan ca-cilich-colel, ca bin uluc-ech yetel." Heix caput palil ti-e yalabal-ti-e, kak¹¹ chumuc kin; ca bin xic ucumtanma¹² ubooy; lay licil yalabal hukil ubinel, ca bin kuchuc yicnal halachvinic-e; heix yalpek lic ukatabal-ti-e. Lay uch'uplil-e, heix upixan ca-cilich-colebil-e, yahau candelas hacha cib-e.¹³ Suyva t'an lae.



Heix uhoch'ic t'an bin katabac-tiob-e, bin alabac-tiob: ca xicob uch'aob upucsikil ku, citbil ti caan: "heix ca bin atales ten-e, oxlahun yal utas tii tep'an upacht, y sac-poq." Heix lay upucsikil ku citbil, lic yalabal-tiobe lae; lay kan-e.¹⁴ Heix utas, lay oxlahun yal, buul yan

6. This **nohoch-na**, or great house, is still so called, and with its distinguishing six **ocom** (not **okom**), as against the four of the small house. The **ocom** are the forked uprights on which are laid the long roof-beams, and are described and illustrated fully in plate X of Thompson's *Ethnology of Mayas of British Honduras*. The word **ocom** is given in the Motul also, with this same meaning, so that we have here some confusion in the text, where it speaks of six **vaan** or uprights, and only one **ocom**. **Vaan** can hardly be other than a synonym for this upright **ocom**, which is the technical word; while the house must have either four or six **ocomob**, and not only one. The Questioner was perhaps taking liberties in order to describe the straw hat.

7. See at the end, the white horse of the Spaniard, with clotted blood of the slaughtered.

8. Here we again have the **nicte**, flower, used in referring to license and times of great abuses.

9. **Kikil**, **likul tu-kikel**. We almost have a touch of alliteration involved in the punning; also the student should use the greatest care in dealing with these word-endings; they mean different things, and not once in a hundred times is the text with an error, or the writer careless. **Kik** means blood, **kikel** the blood of some particular thing; **kil** means to rasp or rub open a sore, and **kikil** is not the definitive of **kik**, but a reduplicated, intensive **kil**, denoting frequency in the action.

10. Note the form **loe**, instead of the common **lae**. The four end-vowels **a**, **o** and **i**, **e** have definite uses that are a part of correct and scholarly Maya use. The first two, broadly, denote 'this thing, here,' 'that thing, there'; **i** and **e** have a like value of here and there, as seen in the introducing **lay** and its correspondent final **lae**.

11. **Kak** provides another trap for the unwary or careless translator. Ordinarily

is said to them. This then is the brains of the sky, this incense. Of hidden meaning it is.

This then is the third word that will be put to them, that they erect a great house, with six uprights, and one pillar it should have.⁶ This too, is the great house, this great straw hat. It will be said to him: That he mount the great white horse;⁷ white his garment and his cloak, and white the timbrel he holds in his hand while he plays; on his horse there is clotted blood; from the rose of the timbrel perhaps it flows. Here now is this, the white horse, this the sandal for walking, the threads of henequen; and this is the white timbrel that is spoken of, this the white mantle: this flower⁸ it is, this wreath; this too the blood of the rose of the timbrel that is asked about: this gold it is, which among you is produced from reopened sores,⁹ from the blood of the motherless and the fatherless does it come.

This now is the fourth word that is inquired of them: That they go to his house. And then it is said to them, that: "When you shall arrive, just at noon today, you will appear as two boys, moving crouched; and when you get there, there will be your young dog behind you; and that¹⁰ little dog of yours is carrying tight the soul of our blessed lady, and you will arrive there with it." These now are those two boys of whom it is spoken, just¹¹ at midday, and his shadow will go on the ground there;¹² this is because it is said that one goes bent low, when he comes before the True Man; and this is the young dog of which he was questioned. This is the womanhood, this now the soul of our Blessed Lady, the great candles all of wax.¹³ A hidden word is here.

This is the fifth word that will be asked of them, that will be said to them: that they go and bring the heart of God, the Supreme One in heaven; "and when you come to me, thirteen children, their sheet there, wrapped about, and white thread." Behold this is the heart of God, the Supreme One, of which it was asked them: this the corn.¹⁴ And this is

it means 'fire,' but it also means (as here) 'exactly.' **Kak chumuc kin**, *exactly* at midday.

12. **Ma** is another troublesome word; its wholly common meaning is that of a negative, used prefixed. But postfixed it affirms and verifies; to give this latter value I have translated here "there."

13. Just what all this about the womanhood of Our Blessed Lady, carried by the little dog in his mouth, and then indicated by the great wax candles, may mean, is certainly **suyva t'an**. Equally certainly it is not Christian, but a clever use of Christian phrasing to cover some other ceremonial fact. Possibly an appearance in the ceremony of **Ixchel**, or possibly of **Suhuy Kak**, Fire Virgin.

14. **Kan** has at least four wholly distinct meanings: yellow; henequén fibre, cord, or hammock; '*cuentas*'; and its glyph day-sign meaning of food or bread. As henequén the form **kaan** is probably more correct. In this text we find it clearly

ichil-e. Heix sac-poṭṭ-e, lay sasac nok-e,¹⁵ lay bin katabac-tiob. Unaatal suyva.



Heix uvacch'ic t'an bin katabac-tiob-e: ubinel uch'aob "ukab-choo, yoxbal hax y cuxul ak; lay bin uciilte in-hanal samal, yan vol in-hantante; ma ivil lob ukuxul uchun-cho-ē," cii yalabalob. Heix uchun-cho-e, lay chop-e. Heix oxbal hax-e, lay u-ne huh-e. Heix cuxul ak-e,¹⁶ lay uchochel keken-e. Heix uchun-e cho-e, uchun u-ne chop. Suyva t'an.



Heix uvucch'ic t'an bin katabac-tiob-e, bin alabac-tiob: "Xen mol ten umac yit ṭ'onot, cap'el sasac-i, cap'el kankan-i; yan vol inhante." Heix umac yit ṭ'onot, lic ukatabal-tiob-e, lay sasac chicam-e, cap'el kankan-i.¹⁷

Unatal uchuc, uchucul ubatabil cah, capul tutan ahau, yaxhalach-vinic lae. He t'anob lae, va matan tumen ubatabil cahob-e, okommolṭil ek tap lay hom akab; ch'a kaxt'anṭil yotoch; okommolṭil hom; okom bulcum tan chumuc tancab yicnal ah-almehenilob. Ah-cimil ma unaaticob, ah-cuxtal bin unaat bin unaatab. Lay bin yanac yokol ubatabil cahob, lay yetp'isan uhochbilan, oheltabal yail bin ṭ'occebal ahaulil lae.

Lay kaxan ukab tutan y yuma che, ch'apayan usumil, binsabal ucah yicnal ahau, yax-halach-vinic. Lay uṭ'oc batabil, lay bin yanac yokol uco-kin, ucokatun,¹⁸ bin yubob ya, ca bin ṭ'ococ-e uballob ubatabilcahob. Lay bin yanac tukin lae; hiṭṭ'ebal ut'an katun, ca bin ṭ'ococ ah-ox-ahaukatun. Chucom ubatabil-cahob,¹⁹ tumen minanil unaatob lae.

defined several times as the counters, or beads used in praying, for which see Note 31. The 'boring' of the night, in connection with incense as brains of the sky or night, is again represented by the **kan**, for which the prayer-counters, the divination stones (probably the small *chalchihuites* or green-stones), is probably the best association. It may be that this is the proper rendering here; but the answer to this riddle includes the white cloth that wraps the 13 little ones, **buul** or beans within, and then the play on the word **nok**, which both means cloth, cotton, and also the white corn-borer worm, the 'thread' asked for. The suggestion of the wrapped maize-ear is here so strong that I have ventured the translation of **kan** by the above day-sign meaning, maize; although I have as yet no other instance in parallel. **Kan** is given in the Motul as 'ripe maize or beans,' but that refers to the color when ripe.

15. **Nok**, cotton, also the corn-borer worm; see above note.

16. The play is on **ak**, which means both a pig and a vine. There is also another play on **choo**, the pochote tree, the ceiba, and **chop**, a word I do not find in the dictionaries, but which Mediz Bolio translates as 'lizard.'

17. With this ends the seven major questions of the first Testing. Two pages later the second stage follows, with a long list of things to be brought as tests; after those the candidates leave the presence of the Chief **Kaat-naat**, and again the proved ones must 'understand' and prepare the needed resources for what is to follow. Three definite stages, of different degrees, are evidently marked as they advance.

18. The days and decades of 'insanity' are evidently a stock phrase, double in form as common in all Mayance rhetoric; we have seen them in our previous texts.

the sheet, these are the thirteen children, the beans that lie within. And this is the white thread, this white worm, *nok*,¹⁵ of which they were questioned. The understanding of the riddle.

This is the sixth word that will be asked of them: to go and bring "a ceiba-tree limb, and a triple twisted cord, and a living vine; this will be the savor added for my meal tomorrow, I wish to eat them, it will not be bad to gnaw the trunk of the ceiba; tasty they are said to be." This is here the trunk of the ceiba-tree, this lizard; and this the triple-twisted cord, the iguana's tail; and this the living vine,¹⁶ this tripe from a pig; and this the base of the pochote-tree, this base of the lizard's tail. A word of hidden meaning.

This is the seventh word that will be asked of them, that will be said to them: "Go gather for me what covers the bottom of the cenote, two white they are, two yellow they are; I wish to eat them." This is what covers the bottom of the cenote, of which it was asked: these white *jícamas*, two are yellow.¹⁷

The grasping of the meaning, is the attaining of the rulership of the land a second time, in the presence of the king, the primal True Man.

But these words now, if they are not understood by the rulers of the lands, then the star of grief is the jewel of the night-abyss; their house is seized with dread; an abyss of grief; grief lies everywhere a companion in the midst of the inheritance of the men of noble caste. The dead do not understand, the living will understand. This shall rest upon the rulership of the lands, this the companion of their destruction; with the understanding of the suffering will come the ending of that rule.



He with his hands tied in front, and his wooden yoke, with his rope seized he shall be carried before the king, the primal True Man. This will be the end of the rulership, this will lie upon the days of insanity, the *katuns* of insanity;¹⁸ he shall suffer pain when his possessions are come to an end, the rulership of the lands. This will be in its time there, of the extinguishing of the *régime* of the *katun*, and the *katun* Three

Ahau shall end. The rulers of the lands¹⁹ shall be apprehended because of their lack of knowledge.

Bay bin uchc uchucul ubatabil-cah lae. Kahlay uchebal uṡ'aicob uhanal yax-halach-vinicob, ca bin ukatob uhanalob. Hich'om ucalob,¹⁹ xotom uni yakob, colom uvich tu-kinil; lay bin ṡ'ocebal lae. Hex ch'ibal-e tiix uhoksic-uba tu-tan uyum, ti caclampix uchebal yoheltal yanil ucuxulob, tiix ukubul upoop y uṡ'amtiob xan-i. Lay yetp'isan yilabal uhochbilan, cioṡil yilabal uch'ibal halach-vinic ti luum vaye. Lay bin cuxlac tu-kinil, layix bin kamic yax-bara xan. Bay tun bin heṡ'luum nahbal uch'ibal Maya vinicob, vay tu-cahal Yucatan tu-casut lae. Dios Paybe ṡ'ocebal vay yokolcab lae, lay uahil ahau bin tac ukat toon; lay ca-tepalilob, lay ca-kulob lae, tunob, kanob.²⁰ Yetel bin katic pakal cii-balche.²¹ Hemac minan ti-e, cimsabil; he max bin ṡ'icic Diosil ucah tu-t'an-a-ma²² ivil yoltic Dios, yuchul tulacal bal ṡ'ibanob lae.

Bay xan heix almehenob uch'ibal batabob yohelma bix talicob uvinicilob y ahaulilob, utepalob, cioṡil yilabal ucuxolalob, umektan-ma uṡ'icilteilob; binix cici-kubuc upop-tiob y uṡ'am-tiob tumenel ca-yum yax-halach-vinic. Lay upop y uṡ'am baxtabi, mucluumtabi uvich, popok-chektabi tu-vich luum, bibilyabi tu-chocho-pay uco-kin, uco-katun; yal xbuyuk, yal co, umehen kas,²³ ah-cakin pop, ah-cakin ṡ'am, umaxil ahaulil, umaax katun. Lay ximbalnahob ichil ah-ox-ahau-katun, het'an bolon-but' ichil upucsikal uch'ibal almehenob ahaulil vinicob, licitac yalabal ti ubinel ach'ab ubatabil-cahob-e. Ca xic uch'ab.

"Mehenex en,²⁴ ch'a ulol akab ten vaye," cii vil yalabal; ca tun xic ti caclampix tu-tan halach-vinic katic ti-e. "Yum-e, heix ulol akab lic akatic ten-e; vet talic y ukas akab-e, tii yan vicnal-e," cii ut'an.

19. There is here a shifting about in the relation, between the present evil rulers who are to suffer and be cast out for their conduct and their ignorance, and the coming men of the True Lineage.

20. The conjunction of the **tunob** and the **kanob** can hardly have, it seems to me, any other meaning than the great stones of record, referred to at the beginning of the chapter on the Eras of the Thirteen and the Nine Gods—that is, the carved inscribed monuments, first. Then the **kanob**, the precious counters of divination, probably *chalchihuites* or green-stones. The Motul also defines this **kan** as 'kernels, *cuezcas*, or stones that served the Indians as money or neck adornments.'

21. The use of a sacrificial wine everywhere is too common to make its presence here strange; see also in the third section, where the Questioner asks for his 'daughter.' Notes 39-42.

22. The best I can do here is to divide **tu-t'an-a-ma**, taking the **a** as 'here' and the **ma** as the enclitic affirmative. See above.

23. Another stock phrase which we have seen in previous texts. These five paragraphs following the seventh question are as full of great rhetoric as they are of intense feeling. They bring us one step further to seeing our Mayance languages as both deep and lofty media of expression, and of a once great people.

Thus will come about the taking of the government of these lands, A memorial to bring to pass the giving of the substance of the first True Men, when they shall call for their food. Their necks shall be tied,¹⁹ and the points of their tongues cut off, and their eyes taken out at the time [of accounting]; it will there be ended.

These then, the nobles, shall there present themselves before their Father, shall kneel that it may be known that they have the judgment, and for the entrusting to them of the Mat, and also of the Throne. Now is it measured, the readiness of the harvest is beheld, luxuriant in its foliage is beheld the lineage of the True Men here in the land. He shall live at the time set, and he shall receive the great Rod. Thus there shall be established as worthy the lineage of the Maya men, here in the land of Yucatan, for the second time. God who was First, before the perfecting here of this earth, He the Lord of Reality shall come to ask of us; these are our royalty, these are our divine things, record-stones, counting-stones.²⁰ With that he shall ask for a garden, for the bal-che tree that gives the wine;²¹ he who has none will be killed; he who shall worship, calling on the divinity in his speech now, verily,²² if he love God, all things written shall come to pass.



Thus then the nobles of the lineage of princes, knowing how came their people and their kings, their rulers, with joy is seen their wisdom, their holding in charge of the things that are to be honored; duly will be entrusted to them the Mat and the Throne, by our father the primal True Man. This his mat and his throne was beaten, and his face buried in the earth, trampled upon the ground, raked and dragged upon the ground. The days and the katuns of insanity; the offspring of the foolish and evil woman, the son of disgrace.²³ The mat of the double days, the throne of the double days; the rule of brutality, the katun of cruelty and abuse. These things shall

go on in the katun Three Ahau, broken and bursting the hearts of the lineage of the legitimate rulers, until the word is spoken for going to take the chieftainship of these lands, and he shall go to take it.

"Bala mehen-e, va ti yan avicnal-e, ti va yan yax-ixt'oy²⁵ tapach-e, y noh-copó-e." "Yum-e, ti yan vicnal-e, vet ulic."

"Bala mehen-e, va avet ulic-e; xen pay alakob ten, lay huntul nohxi-b-e bolontul umehen-e, y huntul ixnuc, bolontul yal-e." "Yum-e," cii ut'an, "ca bin unucub vet ulic, va yan tinpach-e; payanbe utalob ten ca t-ulen invil²⁶ ech."

"Bala mehen-e, va va yan tapach-e, xen molob ten utunchil chakan yetelob, ca tac-ech ulotmaob tu-ğem cu-talel,²⁷ va halach-vinic-cech-i be, va tech uch'ibal ahau vay ti luum be." Suyva t'an.

Heix ulol akab lic ukatabaltic: ek ti caan. Hex ukas akab-e: lay u-e. Hex yax-ixt'oy-e y noh-copó-e, lay ahcuch-cab-e, otlom-cabal ukaba-e.²⁵ Hex huntul nohxi-b lic ukatabaltic, lay bolontul umehen-e: lay unaa yoc-ce. Heix huntul ixnuc lic ukatabaltic, lay unaa ukab-e. Hex utunchil chakan lic ukatabaltic,²⁷ y ulotma umehe,²⁸ lay ube che-e.

"Bay xan, mehen-e; cex ayaxhaan alabi tech, ma alan apacte uvich-e." "Va yan tinpach-e, yum-e."

"Bala mehen-e; xen ch'a ten yibnel caan vaye. Ti atalel ti lakin, ca bin tac-ech-e, cuchpach utal tech." "Cay baac be, yum-e," cii ut'an; hex uyaxhaan, ti yan tupach, ca ti kuchi-e: lay upach-caa-e. Hex uyibnel²⁹ caan-e lic ukatabal ti-e, lay patbil pom-e, oxlahun val upatal. Heix licil yalabaltic cuchpachil utalel ti-e, te³⁰ yan uboy tupach-e, ğelep kin cochom."

24. The following questions, down to the next break, are nearly as obscure in their probable inner references as the first seven. They must have represented stages in some ceremony whose real purport is lost, as must all esoteric matters be where no direct tradition survives. Parts of the text are barely translatable, and then are only words.

25. *Tz'oy* means 'weak'; *yax ixt'oy* may, with Mediz Bolio, be rendered as the 'first weak woman'; but what that has to do with the great fig-tree, the thrushes to be asked for there, and the 'earth-bearer' who is called *otlom-cabal*, is something I must pass. *Otlom-cabal* can be the future of necessity, from *otol*, to fall from over-ripeness or decay, and thus be rendered, 'he who must thus fall.'

26. *Inu-il* introduces us to a form that can lead one to serious errors in translation, if unrecognized. All Mayance possessives have two forms, as used before vowels, or consonants. In Maya these are respectively *v-* and *in-*; and the usual form *v-il*, my seeing, is constantly used in the present chapter. *But*, the archaic Mayance form of the 1st. pers. sing. poss. pronoun must have been *inu*, yielding *in-* and *nu-* as the consonant forms in Maya and Quiché respectively. And also the full form has survived occasionally in Maya as here; see also the important instance later, where *inu-ixmehen* is repeatedly used for 'my daughter,' as well as the short form, *vix-mehen*, and where a letter-division *in-vix mehen* would have a totally different, and in this case absurd meaning.

That this is the fact in Maya is also supported by a similar full form *uy-* for the usual 3rd. pers. *y-*; see *uy-ibnel*, *tuy-oxlahun*; also Beltran, § 132.

"My son,²⁴ go and bring me here the flower of the night," it is said; and then he will go kneeling before the True Man, to ask for it. "Father, this is the flower of the night you asked of me, which comes with me, and also the evil of the night is with me," he says. "Then, my son? If they are with you, is there perchance with you the green *ixt'oy*²⁵ and the great fig tree?" "Father they are with me; they came with me."

"Then, my son, if they came with you, go and invite your companions; one is an old man with nine sons, and one an old woman with nine daughters." "Father," he says, and shall answer, "They came with me and are here by me; they came in front of me when I came to see you."²⁶ "Then, my son, if they are then with you, go gather for me the stones of the plain, and put with them their little ones gathered at its bosom as they come,²⁷ if you are indeed a true man, if you are of the royal race here in the land." A hidden word.

"Here is the flower of the night that is asked for, a star in heaven; here is the evil of night, behold here the moon. Here are the first *Ixt'oy* and the great fig-tree, behold the "earth-bearer," *otlom-cabal* is its name.²⁸ Here is an old man such as is asked for, behold his nine sons, the great toe on my foot; and here is the old woman that is asked for, behold the thumb on my hand. Here are the stones of the plain that are asked for,²⁷ and their young ones grasped tight, behold the wooden pathway (or pontoon)."

"Then also, my son, although it has been told you that it is your father-in-law, it is not said that you will see his face." "He is behind me, father."

"Well, my son, go and bring me the after-birth²⁹ of the sky; as you go to the east, when you arrive he will come behind you." "It is well, father," he says. Behold his father-in-law, he stands behind, when he has arrived: the rind of the calabash. This is the afterbirth of the sky that is asked for; the molded incense, formed with thirteen leaves. This also which it is said arrives behind him, here it is,³⁰ his shadow behind, appearing in the afternoon.

27. The shifting of persons from 2nd to 3rd, with the lack of any illustrative object brought in answer, but only the form of the question repeated, makes this whole passage utterly blind, so far as any translation alone goes.

28. Here is one of the very few pen slips in the text, *umehe* for *umehen*.

29. *Uy-ibnel*, *tuy-oxlahun*; see Note 26.

30. Note the use here, and in a few other places, of the archaic form *te*, for the preposition, *ti*, at, to. This appears in place-names like *Tekax*, the common form being as in *Ticul*.

"Mehen-e, halach-vinic ech, ahtepal ech-i xan. Xen tun ch'a ten ayax-cuentex-e,³¹ licil apayalchi-e." Hex uyax-cuentex-e lic ukatabal ti-e, lay kan-e.³¹ Ca tun katabac ti tun, vabahun kin cu-payalchi, "Yum-e," cu-t'an, "tu-hunte kin cin-payalchi-i, y tu-lahun kin cinpayalchi-i."³² "Balx kinil licil anacsic apayalchi-i?" "Yum-e, tu-bolon kin y tuy-oxlahun²⁹ kin; bolon ti ku, y oxlahun ti citbil.³³ Lay licil inoxoc in-cuentex loe."

"Mehen-e, xen ch'a ten avex, inu-vi³⁴ ubooc vae, y nach ubooc-ce, ubooc inv-ex-e,³⁴ ubooc in-nok-e, ubooc in-yub ak-e; paynum ubooc tu-t'u caan-e y tu-t'u muyal-le, y in-yaxpakabchi-i³⁵ yan ti sac hot'-e, va halach-vinic ech-i be." "Yum-e, bin intales," cii ut'an. Hex uboc yex lic ukatic-e, lay paynum ubooc tu-t'u caan-e: lay pom-e t'abbil elel ucah. Hex yax-pakabchi lic ukatic-e, lay muxbil cacau ch c vuae (? chucuá-e).

"Bala mehen-e; xen tales ten uyax-kikel inv-ixmehen-e,³⁶ y upol-e, y uhomtanil-e, y uchacbacel-e, y ukab-e, y lay valah a ma cab³⁷ ti suhuy cat-e, y uyax-kanche-e vixmehen-e³⁶; etes ten, yan vol vilab, uch in-t'ab tech lic ivil yacal tintan-e, lic ivil uvakal vokol-e."³⁸ "Cay bacac be, yum-e." Yet-tal ut'iic uxicin ah-bol,³⁹ cabeh yetel, ca tun xic tun. Hex uyaxkikel yixmehen lic ukatic loe, lay Maya cii-e. Hex uhomtanil yixmehen-e, lay uhobonil cab-e. Hex upol yixmehen-e, lay

31. Here the **kan** is given clearly as the counting beads, *cuentas*.

32. This praying on the 1st and 10th day quite well takes the matter outside of Christian worship; whether the use of a rosary for prayer is merely brought in here to cover the other kind of divine service, by divination, or not, is a question. The small stones were undoubtedly used for casting lots, in ancient times, but I know of no reference to a rosary.

33. The uncertainty here is noted in the translation. **Bolon ti ku** is a common, and correct idiomatic expression for 'the nine gods,' and one of the innumerable Mayance prepositional constructions; it is constantly occurring in Quiché and Pokom. The use of **oxlahun ti Citbil** is however most interesting, and I am not now willing to say whether the 9 and the 13 may not be honorifics of two hierarchic grades, or whether they denote mere number. It would be difficult to attach the mere numeral 13 to the Supreme Being, **Citbil**, the Word Divine, and speak of Thirteen **Citbils**.

34. **Inu-ui**, **inu-ex-e**, again give the archaic form **inu-** above noted.

35. **Pakab-chi** is something that is sticky in the mouth: **pakab**, glue.

36. Note the **inv-ixmehen** and the more common **vix-mehen** used in the same sentence.

37. The words and letters **valah a ma cab** are here separated as they are in the manuscript; joined differently they can have wholly different meanings, amongst which I have not tried to choose. **Valah** means *de presto*, at once; **valah cab**, *muy de presto*, instantly, and the incorporated **a ma** can have an intensive value; see Note 22 above. The root **mac** means to cover up, as in a jar, but I cannot see as justifiable Mediz

"My son, thou art a True Man, and royal art thou too. Go then, bring me your green 'counters,'³¹ with which you pray." Here are the green counters that are asked of him, these jewels (*kan*).³¹ And when it is asked then of him on how many days he prays, "Father," he says, "I pray on the first day, and I pray on the tenth day."³² "On which days do you lift your prayers?" "Father, on the day Nine, and on the day Thirteen: nine the gods, thirteen the Supreme Word (or, on the 9th to God, on the 13th to *Citbil*)."³³

"My son, go also and get me your clothing, for me to perceive³⁴ its odor here, and far off its odor; the odor of my garments,³⁴ the odor of my clothing, the odor of my *yub-ak-e*; its odor reaches to the middle of the sky, to the midst of the clouds; and my fresh mouth-paste, which is in the white cup; if you are indeed a True Man." "Father, I will come," he says. Here is the odor of his garment for which he is asked; the smell of this goes beyond the middle of the sky: this incense, set on fire it burns. This is the fresh mouth-paste that is asked, this the ground cacao (?chocolate).

"Then, my son, go bring me my daughter's first blood, and her head, and her chest-cavity, and her thigh and her arm, an unused jar, and my daughter's new wooden seat. Put them with me, I wish to see them."

"It shall be so, father. And with them will come the left ear of the distributor,³⁹ two days with it, and then it will come." This is the first blood of his daughter, this the Maya wine. This is her chest-cavity, the interior of the hive. Here is his daughter's head, this virgin unused jar, for setting the wine. Here is his daughter's new wooden seat, this the *covoh-tun*⁴⁰ of the honey. Here is the left ear of the distributor (or, the scraping clean of the breadth of the wild honey-bee):³⁹ the

Bolio's 'what you have covered up in a jar.' *Macab* is the future stem, and can, as a form, also mean a 'stopper,' *amacab*, your stopper. But this is forced and unusual, besides that it is the jar that is asked for, not 'your stopper for the jar.' It also leaves *valah* unaccounted for.

38. I can find no satisfactory translation for *uch in-g'ab tech lic ivil yacal tintan-e, lic ivil uvakal vokol-e*. *Uch ing'ab tech*, I gave you; *yacal* and *uvakal* are two verbs in 3 pers. sing. (not *ya-cal*, pain-neck); *tintan* and *yokol* mean 'before me'; *lic ivil*, 'wherewith.'

39. This whole paragraph details the making of the *balche* wine, from the scraped strips of the tree and the honey, and the whole being spoken of as 'my daughter.' It has some curious plays on words: *g'iic*, left side, and *g'ic*, to scrape or clean off; *xicin*, ear, also a breadth of something, like cloth; and *ah-bol*, one who distributes the food or drink, and *ah-bool*, certain wild, stingless honey-bees. All these different things, and parts of the daughter's body, are used to call up the idea of things and processes used in the wine-making.

suhuy cat-e, ṡ'amlic cii-e. Heix uyax-kanche yixmehen-e, lay ucovoh-tun ⁴⁰ cab-e. Hex uṡ'ic uxicin ah-bol-e,³⁹ lay usulil cii-e. Hex ubacel yixmehen-e, lay uholil balche-e. Hex uchacbacel lic yalic-e, lay ucheel balche-e. Hex ukab yixmehen-e, lay ukab balche-e. Heix licil yalic yokol-e, calhal ut'an; ca tun xic uṡ'ab ti; "ten culuba," ch'u ut'an.

Tescun u'tan ca bin kuchuc: "Yum-e, he lay avixmehen-a,⁴¹ aṡ'ah incanante, lic avalic-cech, yum-e: cech ahtepal-e," cii ut'an umehen ti-e.

"Bee, mehen-e; vet halach-vinicil-e; vet ahtepalil-e. Kahaan baca tech, avohel baca," cii ut'an. "Lay tun ukikel vixmehen lic inkatic tech lae." Oxlahun num tun umanel ukikel yixmehen utan tun; yokol yixmehen ti chelic tu-tancabal. Hii ci tun yokol tamuk yilic, ti chinlic tamuk ut'an.

"Bee, mehen-e," cii tun ut'an; "tamuk yokol,⁴² halach-vinic ech-e. Bee, mehen-e, ahtepal ech-i xan. Bee, vet halach-vinicil-e. Bin tun inkub apop, y aṡ'am y avahaulil cech, mehen-e. Atial tepal, atial-ix ahaulil xan, cech mehen-e."

Bay tun bin ṡ'ocebal ut'anal ubatabil-cahob; ca bin lukuccob yicnal yax-halach-vinic, te tu-pol peten-e⁴³; ca tun xicob ti yotoch. Tii tun yan ti yotochob, tan uṡ'aic uhanalob halach-vinic, tan-ix ukatic uhanal tiob xan. Bay binebal uṡolic lae.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten cancot chac-ṡ'iṡ'ib yan tu-hol actun-e. Tin-vatal yokol in-yax-pakabchi-e, ca bin kuchuc tintan-e." "Cay bacac be, yum-e. Heix lic ukatic-e, lay civi-e; hex uputlic yalic-e, lay yomchuc vuae; hex uyax-pakabchi-e, cacau ṡ'ocan uhuch'ul." Suyva.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten uch'ich'il akab, yetel uhoch'il akab; yet-tal uṡ'omel caan; hach yan vol vilab vaye." "Cay bacac, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, lay hoyob-e, licil utocabal pom-e. Hex uhoch'il akab lic akatic-e, lay kan-e.⁴⁴ Hex uṡ'omel caan-e, lay pom-e." Suyva t'an.

40. The **covoh-tun** I cannot connect; the **covoh** is a poisonous spider like the tarantula, or **chivoh**.

41. **Avixmehen-a**; note the use of the infrequent final demonstrative **-a**, this your daughter *here*. **A** is for the object near or present, **-o** for that afar. The pair **-a** and **-o** involve place, the physical location, while the pair **-y** and **-e** are used at beginning or ending a clause, the first when the thing is first called attention to, the last to denote that this is what has been previously referred to.

42. Here we have more trouble due to the changing persons: "while she (? he, or perhaps *it*, the poured out wine) weeps, *you* are a True Man." It may mean that with the poured wine the ceremony is accomplished. There is one ceremony I myself found in use among the *Indios Rebeldes* of the interior, which may be indicated here. The officiating **ah-men**, or skilled one, the priest, at a certain point in the procedure *pours out* the sacrificial **balche** to the four corners in succession, and *then* gives it to the candidate or worshipper to drink (clearly a Maya not a Catholic rite therefore), saying: **Oxtescun ti tech, mehen-e**. "Thrice honored thou, my son."

soaking of the wine. This is his daughter's bone, the bored hole in the balche tree. Here is her thigh as it is asked for, this wood of the balche tree. Here is her arm, the branch of the tree. This is why it is said he complains; intoxication his talk; then he will go to give it; "the flask is placed for me," slowly he says. Saluting when he comes, he speaks: "Father, this is your daughter,⁴¹ which you gave me to guard; it is as you said, you my father, you my ruler." His son speaks to him.

"It is well, my son; you are a True Man of my company, with me of the royal quality, Remember; be wise," he says. "This then is the blood of my daughter for which I asked you." Thirteen times, very many times does the blood of his daughter pass in front; his daughter weeps lying down in front. Perchance then she weeps when she looks, humbled prostrate while he speaks.

"It is well, my son," he says then; "while she weeps,⁴² you are a True Man; verily, my noble companion. I will thus give you your Mat, and your Seat, and your kingdom, my son, Yours is the power, and yours is also the kingdom, to you, my son,"

Thus then will end the spoken words that touch the chieftains of the lands. Then they shall leave the presence of the First True Man, at the place which is the Head of the country,⁴³ and will go to their homes. Then when they are at their houses, there is appointed the giving of the sustenance of the chiefs, and there appointed the asking also of food for them. Thus will it be recited:

"My son, bring me four cardinal birds that are at the entrance of the cave; I stand over my fresh mouth-paste, my nose is perhaps red; the crest of my fresh mouth-paste stands over it, when it arrives before me."

"So shall it be, father. Here is what you have asked for, this [red] achiote cake; this is the crest that is spoken of, this froth of the chocolate; here is the fresh mouth-paste, the finished ground cacao." Concealed it is.

"My son, bring me the birds of the night, and the boring of the night, with it coming the brains of the night; I wish much to see them here." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for, this cavity in which the incense is burned. Here is the boring of the night, this precious stone (kan).⁴⁴ Here are the brains of the night, this incense." A hidden word.

43. One would wish much to know just what place is here referred to.

44. I am inclined to see in this a symbol of the incense and the divination stones together, penetrating, boring into the heaven; see Note 20. And cf. Manu: "Prayers rise into the sky, and then descend in the form of rain."

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten ubacel uyum, lay amucah oxp'el hab hi-e, hach yan vol vilab." "Cay bacac, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, lay g'iin-e pibbil, ca xic g'abil ti halach-vinic."

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten huntul nohxib, lay ma kalan ubotonil uhabon-e; homtochac ukaba-e." "Cay bacac be, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, lay ibach-e, ixvech-e."

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten ox-buh caan; yan vol inlantante." "Cay bacac be, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, t'ohob saca-e, la yom saca-e." Suyva t'anil bin katabal tulacal.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten uchun cii, ucucutil cii; minan ukab-i, ma aluksic yol-li, yet-tal ox t'ot'ol, yoc g'izil." "Cay bacac, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic, upol keken pibbil, ca bin xic g'abil ti-e. Hex yol⁴⁵ lic yalic-e, lay yak-e tumen he yakbal-e uyol." Suyva.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten ucosil akab; in-lantante." "Cay baac, yum-e. Heix lic ukatic-e, pollos ah-g'el." Suyva.

"Mehen-e, ca aval ti yax-ixt'oy, otlom-cabal ukaba-e; ca utales ten hun xuxac pich'um, ti uchucul yalan noh-copó-e, ti banan tu-boy copó-e." "Cay bacac, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, eek-bul ti, yan ti yotoch ahcuch-cab-e; lay yax-ixt'oy y otlom-cabal-e lic yalic-e." Suy.

"Mehen-e, ca xic chuchil ubalamil actun tamenel, uciilte inhanal; yan vol inlantante balam." "Cay bacac be, yum-e. Hex balam lic ukatic-e, lay halev-ve." Suyva t'an.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten vuc yal upix ixmayum; yan vol inlantante tu-kin ivil uhanabal-e." "Cay bacac, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, lay g'otob chay-e." ⁴⁶

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten yax-gublalob vaye, ca tacob ti okot in-cheente; yet-talob upax y soot y uval y ukab upax; lay inpakob." "Cay bacac, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, ah-go. Hex upax-e, ukoo. Hex usoot-e, upol. Hex uval-e, une. Hex ukab upax-e, uchacbacel." ⁴⁷ Suyva t'an.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten ucas peten; yan vol inlantante." "Cay bacac, yum-e. Hex lic akatic-e, ukabil cab." ⁴⁸ Suyva.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten utunchil chuh-cab, lay elel-e; yet-talel yalil-i uchebal in-tupic, vay-ix uxicil tintan-e." "Hex lic ukatic-e, pibil macal. Hex yalil-e utupic-e, lay ukabil cab-e." Suyva t'an.

45. The word-play is here on the two meanings of **ol**: the shoot of the plant, and the heart, will, spirit.

46. The leaves of the *chaya* are used in times of hunger, as food.

47. Oddly enough, the leg-bone of the fowl is here the drumstick, just as it is called with us.

48. The play here is quite linguistic; both **peten** and **cab** mean the land, but **cab** also means honey; so that by the brightness of the land one means the 'juice of the honey.'

"My son, bring me your father's bones, those you buried three years ago. I much desire to see them." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for, this casava yucca, roasted underground, ready to be a gift to the True Man."

"My son, bring me an old man, the buttons of whose clothing are not fastened; he is called, He who sinks into the ground when it storms." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for, this armadillo, the scaly one."

"My son, bring me three parts of the sky; I much wish to eat them." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for, the whipped atole, this is the foam of the atole." Hidden words will be asked in all.

"My son, bring me a trunk of henequén, the thick body of the henequén, without its branches; do not remove its shoot, but bring with it three feet, broken and spread apart." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for: the head of a boar, roasted under the ground, that it shall be fit for a gift. Here is the sprout that is spoken of, this its tongue, because this its tongue-part is its shoot (y-ol,⁴⁵ its will, heart, character)." Hidden.

"My son, bring me a night-hawk, for me to eat." "So it shall be, father; young chickens." Hidden.

"My son, speak to the Yax Ixt'oy, who is called otlom-cabal, and bring me a large hamper of thrushes, to be caught under the great fig-tree, gathered in the shadow of the fig-tree." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for: black beans that are in the house of the Earth-bearer; this is the Yax Ixt'oy and the otlom-cabal, of which it is spoken." Hidden.

"My son, go; the jaguar of the cave is to be seized by you, to be made savory for me to eat; I wish to feed upon the jaguar." "So it shall be, father. Here is the jaguar that is spoken of, this haleb (tepesquintle or spotted cavy)." A hidden word.

"My son, bring me seven leaves of that which is the covering of the fatherless; I wish to eat them at the time for them to be eaten." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked, squeezed chaya-leaves."⁴⁶

"My son, bring me finely decked people here, that they may go to dancing for me to admire them; let there come with them their drum, and timbrel, and their fan, and the stick for the drum. I shall expect them." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked, the turkey-cock; the drum is his dewlap; the timbrel is his head; and here is the fan, his tail; here is the drum-stick, his thigh."⁴⁷ A hidden word.

"My son, bring me the brightness of the land, ucas-peten." I should like to eat it." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for, the juice of the honey, ukabil cab."⁴⁸ A hidden word.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten akab-cocay, lay hun xaman hun chikin uman ubooc; yet-talel uleṭṭ ak balam." "Cay bacac, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, chamal. Hex uleṭṭ ak balam lic ukatic-e, lay kak-e."⁴⁹

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten avixmehen, inv-ilab; lay hach sac haṭ'en uvich-e, hach cichpam-e, sasac ubooḥ' ṽ ukax-i; hach yan vol ti." "Cay bacac be, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, ṣacluch ṽ ṭun-e⁵⁰ saca-e." Suyva.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten sabel⁵⁰ ukaba-e; lay samacnac ubooc-e." "Cay bacac be, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, lay milon-e."

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten yax ixlochen-cal, yayax upach; yan vol inchantante." "Cay bacac, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, ucal ah-ṭoo." Suyva.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten huntul ch'uplal, hach sac vovol up'ul yoc, vay in-silic upic tu-p'ul yoc-e." "Cay bacac be, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, chicam."⁵¹ Hex usilic upic-e, uṭ'ilic upach."

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten huntul ch'uplal hach cichpam, hach sac uvich; hach yan vol tii; vay in-pulic upic-e, ṽ yipil tintan-e." "Cay bacac, be, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, huncot ixtux ulum uchantante. Hex upulic upic-e ṽ yipil-e, lay ut'olol ukukmel-e; ca tun kak tu-bac utial hanal." Suyva t'an.

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten huntul ahcanan-col, nohxib vaye; yan vol vilab uvich." "Cay bacac be, yum-e. Hex lic ukatic-e, ucucutil macal, uchantante ṭ'anat."

"Mehen-e, ca atales ten ixcanan-col, ixnuc; ektunlah uvinicil-e, vucnab utan yit-te; yan vol vilab." "Hex lic ukatic-e, lay uyax-ich ṭ'ol-e." Suyva t'an; bin kuchuc ukin.

Hele ti kin tu-pokchektah ca-yum yax-halach-vinic lae, licitac yulel vay ti luum, tu-lumil Yucal-peten lae, cu-poyic batabob; ca bin tac batabob, payal ucahob tumen ca-yum halach-vinic.

"Tex va batab-e?"

"Ton-i be, yum-e." Ci vil ut'anob lae.

"Mehenex-e, va tex halach-vinic vay ti luum," lac ci vil yalabalob lae, "xenex ch'a xiknal balam, ca tacex aṭ'aex inhante. Cicii ṭ'aex yuob, cicii ṭ'aex up'utoob, ca tacex aṭ'aex inhante; ṽ xenex tac tusebal, hach hele tac atalex-e. Mehenex-e, hach yan inv-ol inchantante. Cex mehenex-e, cex halach-vinicex-e."

49. A flame is called **yak kak**, the tongue of the fire, so that the licking and twisting tongue of the jaguar fits excellently for the fire that is to light the cigar, whose smoke or odor spreads in all directions, as the evening air in June is seen filled on all sides with the **cocay**.

50. The words **ṭun** and **sabel** I find in none of the dictionaries; Mediz Bolio omits one and does not translate the other.

"My son, bring me the stones of the hot earth, which scorches; and let the water come with them, that I may quench them and break them in pieces before me." "Here is what is asked for: yams roasted in the earth; and here is the water for their quenching, this the juice of the honey." A hidden word.

"My son, bring me the night firefly, whose odor passes to the north and to the west, and let there come with it the curling of the jaguar's tongue." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for, a cigar; and here is the curling of the jaguar's tongue that is asked for, this fire here."⁴⁹

"My son, bring me your daughter, that I may see her; the one who is very white and cleaned in face, very beautiful; white her scarf and her belt. I have great desire for her." "So it shall be, father. This is what is asked for, the white gourd, and this *gun*⁵⁰ atole." Hidden.

"My son, bring me that which is called the *sabel*,⁵⁰ whose odor is very great." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for, this melon."

"My son, bring me a new, twisted neck, that is very green behind; I wish to eat it." "So it shall be done, father. Here is what is asked for, the neck of a turkey-cock." Hidden.

"My son, bring me a maiden; very white and round her calves; here I will tuck up her skirt on her calves." "So it shall be done, father. Here is what is asked for, this *jicama*;⁵¹ the pulling up her skirt, is the peeling off the skin."

"My son, bring me a maiden; one very beautiful, and very white her face; I have great desire for her; here I will take off her skirt and her waist before me." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for, a turkey-hen, for eating. The taking off her skirt and her waist, is the pulling off of her feathers; and then it shall be roasted for eating." A hidden word.

"My son, bring me an old guardian of the corn-field, an old man, here; I should like to see his face." "So it shall be, father. Here is what is asked for, a fat yam for eating." A mystery to be understood.

"My son, bring me an old woman, a guardian of the corn-field, black over all her body, and her seat seven palms broad. I wish to see her." "Here is what is asked for, the green fruit of the *t'ol* calabash." Figurative speech it is; the day shall arrive.

51. The *jicama*, coming together with the Maya term *chicam* from the Aztec, is a crisp watery tuber, rather sweet and of agreeable flavor, and resembling a turnip; it is much cultivated as a food, and is eaten raw. There is no English name; *Pachyrhizus tuberosus*.

Heob xmayohel-e, oñilhom utucul y upacat, be mabal bin yalab. Heix yohelob-e, cilmac yol, ca bin xic uch'ab xiknal balam, ca tun tac yetel.

"Tech va, mehen-e?"

"Ten-i be, yum-e."

"Tech va ch'ibal, mehen-e?"

"Ten-i be, yum-e."

"Cex alakob-e, mehen-e?"

"Yum-e, ti yanob ti kax-e, uxachetob balam-e. 'Minan balam,' tu-t'anob; ca tun umanes tu-tan."

Hex lic ukatic-e, lay balam-e, uñimin ah-batabil; ukat uhante lay ñembil ñimin-e. Hex yu-e, lay cascabeles-e. Hex up'ut-e, lay chachac kuch-e, cici-ñ'abil y usilla y ufreno.⁵² Suyva t'an.

This is the time for the trampling by our father, the Primal True Man, wherewith approaches his arrival here in the land, in the land Yucalpeten; for a calling on the chiefs, that the chiefs shall come. The call of the lands by our father, the True Man.

"Are ye chiefs?"

"We are, truly, father." This they answer.

"My sons, if ye are true men here in the land," thus truly it is said to them, "Go and capture the winged jaguar, and come and bring him for me to eat; take his necklaces with care, with care take his crests, and bring them to give me to eat; and go thither quickly, and very promptly set yourselves to returning. My sons, greatly I desire to feed upon him. Ye who are my sons, ye the True Men."

Those who lack knowledge, poor in thought and in vision, Ay, nothing will they say. But those who understand, bursting is their spirit, their eagerness, and they will go to capture the winged jaguar, and then come with him.

"Is it you, my son?"

"It is truly I, my father."

"Are you, my son, of the lineage?"

"My father, I am."

"And your companions, my son?"

"Father, they are in the woods; they hunt the jaguar. 'There is no jaguar,' they say; and then he passes before them."

This is what is asked for, this is the jaguar: the horse of the Chief; he wants to devour this one, the lean horse. His necklace pearls are these snake-rattles; this is his crest, this red saddle-cloth, with care to be delivered, with the saddle and the bridle.⁵² A hidden word.

52. As a climax, and showing the complete unity of the whole chapter, this concluding portion can hardly be excelled.

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Number 4

U-TZ'OCOL TZ'IB-HUUN

Yan ti u-bel yocsabal ti-ol utunil ukahlay Maya vinicob-a, cu-tz'ocic umentabal tz'ib lae ti huntun-i; lay amayte utunil, lay tz'ibci ut'an licil ca-tz'icic vay con ah-t'anxocbil, tumen kuchuc tu-kin umeyah lay hunob lae, picil-t'anob lae, utial katabal u-chi maya t'anob-i vay yohelob bix cilmac tiobe yol laob-i u-ch'ibal.

Our first monument stone is squared and set up. That there have been delays in the writing and the carving of the final words on this its fourth side, we hope will be forgiven us both for the burdens of the task, and still more for the story its inscriptions tell. With delays but without letting down the standards that we imposed on all that should go out under the Society's imprint, we have covered into all but one of the major divisions of the work we set ourselves: glyph studies, edited linguistic texts, comparative Mayance philology, folklore and mythology that begins to reach into Maya cosmogony, and translations of important short pieces from the early literature, difficult for the general reader to reach. Among the language texts are found Maya, Kekchí, Quiché, and Aztec. The one part of the program not yet brought into the beginning of the record is the very far-reaching one of medical texts and knowledge in the Maya and other sections of that field, and that of the very great knowledge of technical botany and scientific plant pharmacology among the Aztecs and others of the Mexican mainland at and before the Conquest; on both of these latter a very large amount of data has been gathered and correlated.

One very great reason for delay in the Quarterly hitherto is the urgent pressure to get my series of Mayance grammars cleared up and out; fortunately I now see daylight out through the tunneling. The Grammar of Maya I had hoped to finish long ago; but I found it simply impossible to clear up its problems until I had checked them up into *all* the rest: Choltí, Kekchí, Pokonchí, Quiché, Tzeltal, and finally even Mam and Huastec. The result has justified the waiting and the time; I think that at the time of now writing the major difficulties in the Maya have been surmounted, and only the more or less mechanical matter of arrangement left. The incident result is also that (with exception of the Quiché, in itself a major branch) the finishing up of the other grammars, lesser in

scope, can follow quickly on the Maya; and therewith clear the road for the succeeding series of dictionaries.

The scope of these latter was told broadly in the June issue, and since that writing the preliminary drudge-work has been practically finished. In all the above eight divisions except the Maya and the Quiché-Cakchiquel, the original material runs only one way—Indian-Spanish, or Spanish-Indian, save for scattering short lists. In all of these the material has been copied and rearranged in reverse, giving us complete working vocabularies in both directions for all the branches. Also, in preparing the Indian-Spanish lists, the words have been arranged in classified root order, with all derivative forms thereunder, and just enough purely alphabetical cross-referencing to cover the users' needs. The final result will be a series giving the Indian-English-Spanish, thus analyzed and classified; then illustrative phrases taken from the early works; and then (so far as possible) the corresponding forms or words in the other branches. As our last contribution in this line we plan a polyglot of some 3000 to 4000 words, including all the above eight branches, the words for which are now being transferred to polyglot cards as the separate analyses go on.

If our friends think the above objective too large to be reached in less than a generation, the answer to that is that the copying and preparation has now been going on for twenty to twenty-five years, and that drudge-work done. It should be further noted that in all this it is the various languages in their uncorrupted forms as far back as we can reach, that are being considered. Too much, in vocabulary and still more in idiomatic structure and phrases, has been lost in the past 300 years, to make real study and understanding possible by starting with what is spoken today. It is a simple matter, given a knowledge of the language in its purity, to note the succeeding changes, as in English from Chaucer to now. Our whole purpose thus has from the first been to restore the knowledge of classical Quiché and Maya, and with them the other cognate branches. What all this means can only be seen when the result is in shape. But we can say definitely now that it carries with it much instruction in early thought, history and mythology, as well as mere philological points.

The letters of appreciation from our new company of Associate Members and others have been many, and of a kind to have made all the labor *and the cost* of these first four numbers, c-amayte tunil, well worth while. Facing our second volume I shall make the delays between numbers as short as I can while caring for our other publications. For now, then: Heix hun ahau tun, culan ichil yotoch lae, yula-te, tan ug'abal uchaan. tumenel calakob-i, subzil binbin-balob tu-cahalob.

WILLIAM GATES.

AHAVAREM QUAUHTIMALAN

Bixabal Izeolk'omin chua Qu'iché chabal

RUMAL VEL BELEZUY ELGUETA

Ah c'ulvach Quauhtimalan . . . ! chi a-semet
Manc'u quiqu'elahta k'anoh rapunel;
Mi c'o xibiy tunubal c'u recoh
Mi e c'axbinel avach c'u chubah.
Ve chuek alok'olah uleval
C'u tak'abah hun chivi alaxik
K'ak' chi quiqu'el a-chaomal lak'anem
Re camey chua man-rib chu-samah.

Bixanem.

K'ak' chi quiqu'el a-chaomal lak'anem
Re camey chua man-rib chu-samah.
Chi a-vinak ruc' oyoval c'azlinem
Camel nabe chi mun xtiux.

Ri e arihil k'ak'alah c'ama-chich,
At xaharisah chi k'ab pulunin
Ri tahnabal ri uleu c'u echalah,
Ri machet c'a c'olotal ri k'obik.
Kekahavab xechohin chi hun k'ih
Puluv chupam tütünak ulevar
Xatki bok chi quiqu'elah ac'al kieh,
Xatki yac c'ut hun muuh re lok'oh.

Bixanem.

Xatki-e bok chi quiqu'elah ac'al kieh,
Xatki-e yac c'ut hun muuh re lok'oh,
Chirech tak'ahal chavem uc'ovil
Camé umacun sachil nebenob.

Aré alak'an hu-perah chi cahil
Xolchi suṭ' re sakilah ruturuh;
Ac'ú! Aré c'a ruc' k'ab payinel
Urihquil xmanarib c'u ṭ'ilih.
Chi e-nimar-rib c'ovilah ac'ahol
Ri c'ax chohibal qu'ic'ot uk'ayem
Ri quiqu'elah uk'ak'bal c'a sabin
Chi k'us-chich chua-tiltot chayinih.

Bixanem.

Ri quiqu'elah uk'ak'bal c'a sibir
Chi k'usil chich chua-tiltot chayinih,
Xavi nare ri k'obil usak-chok
Ri muuh c'ut re ulevar ru umuuh.

C'oyolem chi Ande nimarisay-rib,
Chi qu'ieb palou chua c'ovil tararem,
Chuxé xic'abal re chuh k'anapuak
Cat-vartisah moo-k'uk' hebelin.

Tz'iquin intioil c'aslibem chi apocob
K'uk'abah aulevar c'u toobeh;
Veta! xku vyaquisah ru uropin
Mayih chi k'ehman chi ahavar c'ot.

Bixanem.

Veta! Xku vyaquisah ru uropin
Mayih chi k'ehman chi ahavar c'ot;
Chic'ut xtiyac uxequ'em ka chicah,
Quauhtimala, abí mana-camel!

GUATEMALA NATIONAL HYMN

Of fortune blest, my Guatemala! Now thine altars
No longer stained by bloodshed's wantoning flow
As coward slaves their fettering bonds embraced,
And tyrants gross thy soil defiled and mocked.

Should now a morrow's day that sacred land
Reveal by foreign hosts invading scorned
And stained with red, thy lovely brighter flag
To death shall swift decree the insolent assault.

Unstained by red thy lovely brighter flag
To death shall swift decree the insolent assault;
As with souls on fire thy nation's sons,
Seek death itself to keep thee free.

From old and grievous chains thou'st forged anew
With hands re-endowed in strength and skill,
The plows to till the fields for harvest rich,
And swords fire-tempered keen for honor's guard.

Our fathers fought a day and strove abreast,
Their hearts aflame with patriotic fires;
They dragged thee out 'neath sanguinary feet
And raised for thee a throne of love impact.

They dragged thee out 'neath sanguinary feet
And raised for thee a throne of love impact,
Whose voice of power shall endow the land
That crime may ever cease, and error flee.

Behold thy ensign there, a spread of sky,
Midst radiant clouds of shining white.
Ay! woe to him whose perjured hands,
Its colors should now dare besmirch.

Thy valiant sons, thy children proud,
Behold with joy the stern-waged fight;
The flowing torrents red that bathe
The steels that clash in onsets fierce.

The flowing torrents red that bathe
The steels that clash in onsets fierce;
Whose guerdon alone is thy honor redeemed,
Whose shrine of devotion is thine altar on high.

Thou liest stretched upon mountains proud;
The sonorous seas of two oceans thee praise.
In sleep thou dost rest enshadowed by glory,
By emeralds and gold in the wings of the Quetzal.

The bird of the Indian race is thy shield,
Palladium fair protecting thy soil.
May its flight e'er rise higher and freer,
Higher yet than e'en condors and eagles attain.

May its flight e'er rise higher and freer,
Higher yet than e'en condors and eagles attain.
On its wings it shall raise to the azure aloft,
Oh Guatemala, our mother, thy name renowned.

Manuel García Elgueta, of Totonicapán, was the most devoted and continuous student of Quiché in recent generations. Among his studies which came to me some time after his death from his widow, was the above rendering into Quiché of the National Hymn. The language varies from the older classical speech of the Sixteenth Century, but I have not attempted to change it, further than to standardize the guttural and *berida* letters, after checking the words wherein they occur with the best early manuscript dictionaries, especially those of Vico and Varea, whose representation of these sounds is always accurate and consistent. W. G.

THE SPECIFIC TYPE OF WORD AND SYNTAX FORMATION IN THE MAYANCE FAMILY

Before the student can even begin to enter upon an intelligent study of Mayance grammar, it is essential that he should clearly and definitely apprehend a number of points wherein the languages of this family differ fundamentally from those of our Indo-European races. The purpose of every language is the expression of ideas; but each stock then, following necessarily and naturally upon the habits of thought, plus the basic facts of culture environment, of the users, develops its own particular mode of attack upon this problem of thought-expression and then its communication.

The heart of the problem, as well as its dynamic element, is the Verb—the word of action, without which no inter-communication, on any plane, can exist. As our three hypostases we have the Thing, its Relations, and then those two in motion—the Act.

At the beginning, therefore, of our study of Mayance, we must comprehend three factors, which both control and prevail through the entire development of the language and its forms. These are:

First: all development of form and syntax rests consciously on function, and not on form.

I say "consciously" because function must underly and occasionally appear at the surface in all languages; but our classifications are according to forms, and we think of function as mostly incidental to form, which is only its crystallization. A Maya grammar, classified according to forms, fails utterly of its proper purpose; if the classification and categories follow function, they at once become illuminating.

Second: the ever-present recognition, by the Maya people, of the difference between substance and accident—the thing in its own nature, and its casual affections, its temporary cloaks or positions.

In studying Mayance, we are constantly brought up against the age-old distinction: on which side is Reality, in the Form or the Substance, the Outer visible, or the Inner controlling; or otherwise put, which is Abstract, and which Concrete? For all those very terms which we call Abstract, are by the Maya given the form-ending that denotes the specific, the concrete particular instance in which the universal is manifested. Goodness is the present expression of *To Agathon*; majesty does not just proceed from the King; he expresses, by embodying it; the quality is not the mere resultant of the organism, it is the controlling dynamic fact of which the organism is the needed vehicle. All this is Maya; ours today is notoriously opposite.

Third: that while the Maya race (and the Indian generally) is not

mentally primitive, it lived in direct close contact with working Nature, and thus through all their word- and syntax-development and use there runs a continuous eye-memory of acts and things seen. This factor appears at every stage in word and form analysis; it can be very well expressed by saying that the 'etymon' is persistent.

The user or student who does not fully learn this factor will make egregious mis-steps at every turn; and especially when he tries to *etymologize* words in the seven different main branches of Mayance, by the first spelling or meaning he comes upon, as fitting his ideas. And when he goes further (as they all try to do) and fits these "etymologies" (*logies* without their *etymon*) to explaining hieroglyphic signs that are wholly ideographic, with no trace of phonetic reason or elements in their make-up, the results are disastrous.

Having gotten a knowledge of these three basic factors well fixed, the student will then find a number of special linguistic differences, all of which *must* be recognized before he can walk on without constant stumbling.

No. 1: With us, every complete sentence must contain a verb; to meet this formal grammatical "rule" we introduce the wholly meaningless copula verb 'to be,' not a necessity to the sense. Maya grammar does not require a verb in every sentence, since many statements are merely descriptive, and do not involve an action.

Where the statement made is merely to describe the Thing, or to indicate its Relations, no verb is necessary: "bread good, John here," are complete expressions. The Maya is very practical as are all Indians, and does not employ useless words; indeed, he has such respect for things 'put to use' that he has a special termination added to the noun 'in use.'

No. 2: Directly consequent on this distinction between actual use or not, when we come to the Verb we get a main dividing line running through its whole development, as between the Intransitive and the Transitive, the action per se, and the efficacious, result-producing action. This distinction is as outstanding in Mayance grammar as is that between Active and Passive with us.

Mayance grammar recognizes thus four conjugations: first, the Transitive, with its expressed object; then three Intransitives, with a common distinct treatment: the Neuter, which does not impinge upon or affect any object—I walk, sleep; the Absolute, or the possible Transitive with no expressed object—I eat, I feed, no matter what upon; then the Passive, where I endure the operation of actions, the object of which is absorbed into the subject which endures them. There is also a subordinate fifth, the incorporate, I school-teach, I houseclean, where the first element merely qualifies the verb, and the compound is treated as an Absolute.

These distinctions are fundamental in all the Mayance branches; but do not always have a sharp form-distinction showing in their stems. The Quiché distinguishes the four classes by a final *-h*, *-r*, *-x*, *-n*. To make a Neuter from an adjective, add *-r*, *nimir*, I become great; to make a Passive from a Transitive Active, change the *-h* to *-x*; to use it as an Absolute, not stating any object, change the *-h* to *-n*. Yucatecan Maya recognizes the four classes by various conjugational differences, but only has the stem-endings in *-h* or *-n*, supplemented by the use of another participial-form into which we need not here enter.

No. 3: Also connected with the above there is a use of the possessive personal pronoun in certain tenses, where we use the personal pronoun as the subject.

Broadly speaking, the transitive, result-producing action is "my doing,"; the action by itself, not affecting some thing, merely happens through me as its vehicle—"walking, you."

No. 4: There are only two personal pronouns, I and thou, plural we and you. We, face to face, are persons, and need no 'name' to identify our personality; every third person is "that one, John"; to say John walks, or John's book, the 3rd pers. possessive, or the demonstrative, must always be used, followed by the name, in definition.

No. 5: The regular use of an Conjunctive construction, instead of our usual Subordinated one. Where this occurs with what we term a Subjunctive, the verb in Maya receives an enclitic ending, *-ic*, replacing our Subjunctive forms, each equally serving to declare the action as dependent on something precedent. But the two clauses are sharply adversative, and not flowing. Other Adversative cases are referred to below.

No. 6: There are only two actual prepositions, *at* or *to* and *in*; all others are prepositional phrases, or compounds, like our underneath, on top of, by reason of. The consequent syntactic development of this is far-reaching, and gives very vivid and descriptive expressions.

No. 7: As a result of points 1, 5, and 6, we have a far extended development of prepositional constructions, replacing our method of the verbal copula. At times the simple preposition, acting locatively, to 'place' the event, comes very close to being an actual verb 'to be,' in our understanding.

Point 7 has never been touched upon in any grammar I know of, manuscript or printed, yet it is one of the most important points to be noted. Phrases are utterly puzzling until we recognize this locative function of the preposition, followed by a disjoined verb expressing the action to, in or away from the located starting or ending point of the action. Instead of: I fall from the horse, we have: on the horse, drop I; instead of, it descends from the sky, in the sky, it descends; instead of, I throw it out of the house, (being) in the house, I throw it.

In fact, we get a veritable "ablative absolute," expressed not by the case-endings, but by the preposition alone, which that ending represents. Once we start with our above three controlling factors, and see the development of the required expressions along these different but equally effective lines, we can see our modern languages broken from their Latin moorings, and approaching again these Mayance agglutinative forms. *Caesare mortuo*; in Spanish with a preposition, *después de César muerto*; in English, Caesar being dead, and then, prepositionally stated, without the copula, with Caesar dead. All are the prelude to what is to be stated as 'ablated,' or happening consequent on the condition created by Caesar's death. And in Mayance we get the story clearly put, and the philosophical conditions of our three hypostases correctly adhered to: first the noun or thing, named and qualified into a complete descriptive phrase—the absolute construction; its localization by the preposition, defining the relation to the ensuing action; then the action, adverbially qualified if necessary, as proceeding in, to or away from the previously localized statement of its source or objective.

No. 8: Our final major point to be noted, is that of a very full development of participial auxiliary constructions, in the tenses. The simple verb-statement may be expressed as we do it, without auxiliaries, and with only time additions. The aorist is a mere statement of the act: done, happened—which means completion and past time; for the future (or conditional—both still undone, and not facts), I eat, maybe. A general present, I write, which only states my occupation, and is not a true present at all. For the actual present, we require a particle denoting presentness, now; then a participle quite as in our phrase 'I am writing,' except that our 'to be' copula which we have pressed into this auxiliary service, is characteristically replaced by the above possessive pronoun governing the verb of accomplishment: *nacal in-cah*, rising my doing, or what is exactly the same, I now do a rising, I do rise, I make ascent.

GLYPH STUDIES

The purpose for which the QUARTERLY was started was to bring into print as many pieces as possible of the manuscript or otherwise inaccessible literature, too short for separate books or pamphlets; also to stimulate study in the cultural, mythological, historical and linguistic phases of the Maya problem, with a continuation of documented and verified glyph solutions. Among the other immediate and gratifying responses to the appearance of the QUARTERLY, and the coming together of a new body of students as associate members of the Society, were various suggestions

for something like a "Question and Answer" department in the magazine, devoted to the glyphs. Our first number had already stated that something in the way of glyph studies was intended to appear in each issue.

Valuable suggestions, drawn from direct observations in the field, began to come in—such as those from Dieseldorff on the dog as the thunder-storm animal, and from Thompson on the surviving connections in modern folklore with ancient mythology and also glyph passages. The above were printed.

Another member, also suggesting the advantages of a "glyph forum," contributed a possible pictographic origin of the *Imix* glyph, in connection with the Ceiba tree, interesting since there are quite definite traces of a mythological connection. It was my desire to see a section of the magazine devoted to a free controversial discussion of glyphs and glyph-elements, which might at the same time avoid both dogmatism and wild speculative interpretations void of all support save the free imagination of the speculator. The difficulties in opening the limited space of the *QUARTERLY* to such discussions have been definite, and only recently has a satisfactory method been reached, and the way to develop such a soundly controversial, and stimulating, section of our pages begun to take shape.

Max Müller once said, in somewhat similar circumstances, that "it should be remembered that words have histories." Comparative linguistic research a generation and more ago became a historical science, and since Müller's time has established itself thoroughly not only in the Indo-European, but in substantially all the languages of what we call the Old World. But so far, Americanist studies have been so absorbed in the phase and display of physical museum objects, and in the removal of the *débris* which has covered the innumerable ruined cities, that comparative linguistic science there has not yet even begun; the study has not gotten beyond the stage of mere collecting forms, and the modern ones at that. Outside the great ancient culture centers of Middle America, our Indian languages are a collecting problem, and not a literary one; while at the same time the immense literary remains of native Middle Indian languages have been (so far as thorough and established methods are concerned) just ignored. It means immense drudgery, and is not nearly so fascinating as the romance of exploration. Also what is really its chief handicap, there are still not enough workers in it to make a genuine forum, and the real rewards are still hidden.

I am quite willing to be criticised for saying that at least nine-tenths of what with us today are called linguistic studies not only in American tongues, but even in most Indo-European ones, are deadly dull futilities, dealing only with morphological minutiae, such minutiae being regarded

as the sufficient objective of the time spent upon them, and a proof of scholarly learning, the frequent production of articles being a necessary part of a university professor's duty to his institution, as football tactics are in building the public fame of a college. One looks in vain today for the study of syntax and structure, which are however the heart of the problem.

We get too, from Bogotá to Boston and other spots, from California to Hungary, newspaper reports that some one has found the secret of the glyphs and so solved the Maya problem. In every effort that reaches beyond the horizons of work and history we get constant learned symbolic interpretations of esoteric meanings (usually with an attempt to link them up by phonetic similarities), and an ignoring of innumerable instances where the propounded interpretations cannot possibly fit. All this passing for "learning" (and even posted as reached by the stock claim—"induction"), and only possible because there are no readers informed enough to criticise.

We have been having these things for seventy-five years, cropping up and dying out, just as Hor-Apollo's old explanations of the Egyptian hieroglyphs preceded the time when Young and Champollion, by a study of associations, broke open the door to facts.

The original obscure origin of a glyph form is of little moment to our present work, any more than the fact that our letter **G** goes back through many changes to an abbreviated picture of a camel, in Phoenician **Gimel**. The only thing that is of any real use to us is the *meaning* of the character when used in the texts we seek to translate. To this its form-origin and its abstract phonetic value are wholly secondary. What does count now, therefore, is that the glyphs shall be studied, their instances checked and submitted to sound, honest controversial treatment. And on these lines I think it will be possible to undertake the called-for "question and answer" section of the *QUARTERLY*. We might treat the glyphs as visitors arriving at the jousting-ground of a tourney; in this the right to appear and couch a lance can safely be given to interpretations which come supported by observed data, either in the texts or through other associations encountered by students in the Maya region itself.

A special stimulus toward this section, and a help to the provision of matter for discussion, came a month or two ago from a man whom I have long known, to many of whose interpretations of certain glyphs I have persistently objected as not sufficiently taking account of all elements of the problem, and as relying too exclusively upon a matching-up of Yucatecan Maya words. But recently, in his explanation of one particular compounded form, I saw for the first time the introduction of

a principle which (as I immediately wrote him) I had been been rubbing up against for thirty years without giving to it its place in the study. As a principle this fact is beyond all question sound; it goes to the word-combination of glyphs and characters, as well as of spoken terms, in all languages and writings—Chinese, Egyptian, Sanskrit, English, Maya.

Both communications and records everywhere certainly began with pictures, on rocks, skins or fibers. These pictures became abbreviated, formalized, losing their original character; and in time developed into mere symbols. In short, they first became pictographs and then ideographs. Then, as a result first of the necessity for indicating the names, as pronounced, of foreign persons or objects, abbreviated phonetic symbols were developed. This is quite marked in Egyptian, where the ideographic and phonetic are found side by side. We also find it in the Japanese *katakana* syllabary, shortened for phonetic purposes from the original Chinese characters, and used today in Japanese newspapers to give the pronunciation of an unfamiliar Chinese ideograph. Later in time, phonetic writing and declensional word-forms entirely superseded the older ideographic systems.

There are many kinds of symbols; roughly they may be classed as ideographic, phonetic, and esoteric—or the result of an agreed convention. Our letters are phonetic symbols, for the vocal elements of speech; Chinese, Egyptian and Maya ideographs are symbols of ideas. So also are the long line of our modern scientific symbols, known to and used by the initiates of science just as were religious symbols in older days to the Initiates of religion or the Mysteries; both are esoteric. A symbol can only be explained by one who has a direct knowledge of its rationale, whatever its class. From the standpoint of world history I must believe the Maya to be older than the Egyptian because of the entire lack in the Maya of a developed phonetic element; although that conclusion must of course submit itself to the results of future research, when we have learned a great deal more of the Maya and their history than we know now. Neither do I believe in the least in the assumed migration of ancient American man and his culture via Behring Strait; (Esquimo infiltration, of course yes). That theory ignores too much, takes too many unknown things for granted, and tries to explain too much with too little.

An ideographic symbol can, then, be followed back to its original pictograph, and the underlying course of its development traced through, *provided* we can find the connecting data. But that is absolutely a historical problem; it is not a case for guessing. Candidates must come to the jousting-place with supporting facts as vouchers. If we may be

allowed the illustration, they may present themselves for a "Testing of the Princes," to see whether they can bring their knowledge for the solving of the riddles and the proving of their places in the true line of ancient Maya descent. *Suyva t'an*.

Thus now the current value of a phonetic symbol must be communicated mouth to mouth and person to person; its historical course down from the ideographic stage, as with our letters descended through the Phoenician, may be traced, when we have the material; but the phonetic value can pass only from teacher to pupil. While what we have called the third class, the esoteric symbols, in whatever science, religious or physical, being based on a convention, can also not be interpreted except by direct transmission from one instructed in their use. That transmission may be face to face, or it may also be through preserved records that give the key; but one of these two must be present.

Above all, the fact that we in our day and environment and mental habits *might* use a symbol or an idiom in a certain way, *can* not and *must* not be taken as any real evidence whatever that the older or other people used it that way. Note the well-known pitfalls of a translator from one language into another; as a simple illustration here, take the Spanish word *formal*. In Spanish *formal* means well-bred, and *informal*, impolite, ill-bred; the same words have quite different values in English; and knowing the past tradition of Spanish culture and our own we can see the cause for this: In the Latin races it is the form and formalities that have counted, and 'formality' is politeness; we on the other hand praise informality, which to us is a sign of the 'natural.' (Neither point of view should be criticised; each has its reason in time.)

In a similar way he who would enter into the syntax of Maya and Mayance languages must understand those languages as they were known and used at the time of the Conquest, bringing us a direct contact with the cultured people of the race at the time—a culture since submerged, although not beyond re-visualization. And one who would build up Maya glyph-combinations must also be sure of his Maya ground, by which I mean the ground of old Maya thought, or the evidence of comparative Mayance.

I have above referred to a particular principle to be applied in efforts at interpretation. I can call it, "pictographic incorporation," as a method or principle in the formation of Maya Glyph compounds. Soberly used, and with restraint, it should help much in our study. I have been at the glyphs for a good many years, but all my time has been put to the making of a font of type, and working out a practical dictionary system of


classification, with the cross-indexed concordances. I have intentionally refused to try to 'interpret' or read until this facilitating groundwork was done; just as one postpones desired chemical studies until he has the needed sets of tables of atomic weights, defining the broad differences of class, and the possibilities of combination, or not—their sympathies and antipathies. Others have at the same time been trying to put the glyphs together in accordance with what they regard as natural Maya methods, and also tryings-out of the Landa alphabet.


Symbolic incorporation is a method used in every language for its word-formations, spoken or written, ideographic or phonetic. We take the root-word 'see', add the present active ending *-ing* to express the present activity, and then further add the negative idea by prefixing *un-*: 'unseeing.' The worn-down but still largely recognizable Egyptian pictographs were in the same way built into their compounds. Ideas are compounded and modified in the Chinese, the main element and the adjuncts being in every case symbols of the desired ideas. In this sense *-ing* and *un-* are also symbols to us, one of present action, the other of negation. That this principle is therefore both universal and sound is beyond question; in fact, we cannot conceive of word-compounds as being built any other way.

But in its application there will come difficulties: we must be first sure of the value of the element to be incorporated, and then further that it is correctly representative of the habits of thought of the Indian, the Maya mind; and then sufficient evidence that they *did* so use it—not merely that they might have done so. Next, to get anywhere with the problem, it must be found to work toward the actual translation of text passages. And finally, and of the greatest importance of all, the assigned meaning must work everywhere the character is found, or an explanation be found for the contrary fact. The meanings must be tested out by their associations.

A study of this kind can lead us far, and promises much. See, for instance, the use of the characteristic part of the day-sign **Cib**, as having the Yucatecan Maya meaning of 'wax, ? honey,' and marked on a jar as we have our containers marked as for 'flour, sugar,' etc. So far it is simple; but how account for the change in meaning of the 16th day from Owl, or Vulture, to Honey, Wax? When the old Maya used the day-name **Cib**, did he think of Honey, or was its meaning as blind to him as the origin of our Tuesday, from the Norse war-god **Tiw**? And did he in fact mean a honey-pot when he marked the characteristic curl on his jar?




Or again take the sign of dots dropping from small circles, to indicate falling water or rain.  In many places in the codices it is *almost* obvious; take the repeated sky-sign in Dres. sec. 75, where we even see the sky-sign tilted, with this attached. Then we must next take all the other places where rain is actually pictured as dropping, and look for the presence, or absence, of the dots in the text-glyphs. Then further, we must check and seek to account for the presence of the prefix in *every* other compound where it occurs; see below.

As a final result of this, we are in due course certain to turn up mythological or other associations of great value, for every time any element is placed 'at home' with another, a new lead will be suggested. If an affix is found regularly attached to calendric signs, it gives a probability that other unknown signs to which it is added are also calendric; and much could follow from that. Where a certain affix occurs chiefly or only with known destructive or ill-omen signs, or again with certain deities only, any meanings assigned either to the main or affix element, must take those associations into account. Step by step only must we pass from the known or proven, to the still uncertain. Also, of the first importance, we cannot have any character or element mean one thing in one connection, and something else in another—at least without positive proof. If, for instance, Landa's sign for *ma*,  the regular superfix also for the glyph for South, *is* the negative sign, we must interpret it as such in *all* compounds, or determine why not. And the very fact that this rule of study must be rigid, is our most potent key to progress; for every new difficulty quite as well as every new association, simply means a new bit of light, a new door set open.

We have before us the study of three distinct elements, which must be coordinated before we are done. These are:

1. The glyph or character itself, its form, and the origin of that form. (Our figure 3 is a glyph, or symbol, coming down from the Arabic.)
2. The meaning attached to that form; also its connections and use in our various texts. (3 means the triad, or three times one.)
3. The name, or spoken word used to designate it in the different later branches, and (inferentially) in the mother Mayance. We cannot assume which of the modern forms is closest to the ancient, although Tzeltal and Maya show most reason. (3 is equally called three, trois, tres, tres, in English, French, Spanish, Latin.)

This gives us two distinct problems, and two modes of attack: First on the writing, pictographic or ideographic, a constant incident to the glyph-form. Second, on the speech, wherein the word used may either describe the glyph itself, or may again relate the facts, in any one of many languages. (The Cimi glyph is a skull, and talks of death.)

If we knew the meanings of the glyphs, we could correctly translate any passage into English, without knowing a single word of any Mayance language, or the *names* given by the Maya to those glyphs. Just as we can work with a book of mathematical formulae drawn up by a Russian, we not knowing that language.  means 'green,' also *verde*.

In the second mode, knowing spoken Russian, we could learn what the formulae were meant to reveal, by reading his textual description of the subject; given this we might then laboriously work out the meanings of the symbols used. Thus we might arrive at knowledge of all three elements—symbol, meaning and name. (The meaning of a passage of unknown glyphs may be indicated by the action in the picture below, as the fire-making; an unfamiliar formula in our mathematical treatise, would be explained by the text.)

Now in our present problem we have scraps, and scraps only, of information about each of the three elements. In a very few cases such bits are found, and agree, in all three classes. In many they are totally divergent, as in the three words for 'moon' in Maya, Kekchí and Quiché: *u*, *po* and *ik*; or in the case of *Manik* or *Imix*. In such cases we cannot declare a solution reached which ignores or fails to account for all these non-agreeing data. And our whole trouble to date has been due to the fact that would-be interpreters have followed either the line of assigning offhand meanings to the symbols, or of etymologizing their assigned names. Not only this, but they have (in following the first line) failed to tabulate the obvious associations with pictures or other known glyphs, afforded us in the codices; or (in following the second line) they have with negligible exceptions dealt only with Yucatecan Maya words, ignoring the other Mayance languages, as well as the sought-for mother-base. Still further, they have gone on in complete ignorance of even Maya language laws. In our problem we must do the following:

We may cautiously work from pictograph to ideograph.

We may avail ourselves of the known evidence as to the meanings of the day-names associated with the day-signs, including the Aztec.

We must use all the association aids we can find in the texts and their annexed pictures, ignoring none.

We must take into consideration all the Mayance tongues.

We must be sure that we are following the law or methods of Maya and Mayance word-formulation and evolution. Some are superficial (as that *ix-* is a feminine prefix, and not a postfix); others are inherent, as the principle of the 'persistence of the Etymon.'

There is a natural law or method prevailing throughout the activity of all organizations, and differing for each. It gives to each what we

call its personality, without which it ceases to be itself as distinct from other organizations, or systems—be they living beings, or types of government or social order, or languages.

This law, method, type, is shown by its persistent repetition, by its constant cropping up as the system functions. And it will only be after extended familiarity that we come to recognize it thus as a distinctive quality. This is as true in physics and ethics, as in sociology and language; it is what the individual *habitually* does. Inability to apprehend it in matters of international psychology, mated with our egocentric belief in our own 'rightness,' is the cause of nine-tenths of international frictions. A similar result follows in studying any kind of system, e. g. another language.

Instances of the 'habit' will come forth in abundance; and the proof of the 'persistence of the Etymon' will lie in the fact that once recognized and followed, an intelligent and idiomatic use of all Mayance becomes easy and simple; without it, we should constantly stumble and misapprehend the real meaning behind. For Mayance words never get far from, or out of sight of, their 'Etymon'; ours do. That is the great difference; it rules through all word-formation and syntax, and we must perforce assume its presence in the glyph-system syntax as well.

To begin our study along the above lines, we now have the following material. First, the well-known Middle-American series of 20 days, with meanings in substantial accord through the whole region, and in the three main stocks, Aztec, Zapotec and Mayan. For these 20 days we have Aztec pictographs, recognizable as corresponding to the meanings handed down; Sea-monster, Wind, House or Darkness, (Iguana or) Food, Serpent, Death, Deer, Rabbit, Rain, Dog, Monkey, Broom, Reed, Jaguar or Magician, Bird or Wise-one, Owl or Vulture, Force (in Maya Earth), Flint-knife, Storm, Lord (in Aztec Flower).

In Maya we have another set of 20 signs, of which only two—Death and Flint-knife—are obvious; perhaps also that for Lord, a full-face. There are three probably abbreviated pictographs, showing the serpent's markings, the dog's ears, the jaguar's spots. One character, for Manik, is clearly a grasping hand, and used as such in glyph compounds with constantly supporting picture evidence; but neither sign nor word in Maya support the idea 'Deer,' that of the corresponding day. Neither is there anything in the remaining thirteen Maya signs to suggest the corresponding names in the above series.

In Maya therefore we have six *pictographs* which fit, and one which does not; then thirteen conventionalized ideographs, which standing alone could mean just anything.

As the next element or factor in our work, we have the above *Meanings* given to the 20 days. (These change in Tzeltal to 20 eponymous heroes.) In Aztec these meanings both link up with the pictographic signs, and are the common dictionary meanings of the day-names. Thus in Aztec Acatl means Reed, and the sign is the picture of a reed. In Maya this correspondence fails, as we have seen, in 14 of the 20 as to the signs; and it also fails in 15 of the Maya word meanings. Only Ik, Akbal, Cimi, Caban, Ahau mean the same as the Aztec signs and words (with even so a change of Flower to Lord, and a somewhat forced parallel between Darkness and House). This shortage of corresponding meanings is partly helped by word-forms in Quiché and Tzeltal, with the needed values, or harking back to a common source; in three of these, be it noted, we have animal signs as the glyphs: serpent, jaguar and monkey for Chicchan, Ix, Chuen. In a fourth case the Quiché Ah means Reed, as it should, while Maya (and Tzeltal) Ben yield no etymological connection. Also, for the very important 19th day, Cauac, Storm, while no Maya source assigns that or any other meaning to the word, in Pokonchí, Quiché and Tzeltal, Cahok, Caok, Chauc all mean either Rain or Thunder-storm.

Finally, for the most important of all the days, the first, Imix, we find the corresponding forms Imox, Imos in Quiché and Tzeltal, *defined* in the earliest Quiché dictionaries as meaning *espadarte*, swordfish. We also find Mox in Pokonchí, but with no early definition.

In short, we get a nearly complete set of *meanings* for the days, in all Middle America, although built up fragmentarily in the Mayan region. Understand that Landa, who gave us the signs and the *names*, gave us no meanings. Nor does Pío Pérez, or any other Maya dictionary, with the five exceptions first noted, give us an etymology for the Maya names.

This brings us now to our third main element, the Names, or corresponding *words*. In Aztec all match fully. In Zapotec they fairly match, but with difficulties. In 15 of the 20 in Maya they neither match the sign nor the required day-meaning, save as helped in some six cases, only, by forms and meanings in other Mayance languages. The undeniable value of 'Corn' for the Kan-glyph must be derived solely from association evidence in the codices; the Quiché C'at, lizard or iguana, while corresponding both to the Aztec and Zapotec, is no help at all, bread and meat to the Maya being wholly distinct concepts, taking two distinct verbs meaning 'eat,'—a common phenomenon in Indian American languages. Both are of course food, but there is a sharply separated distinction in the basic thought—the Etymon; corn seems to be the "staff of life, the sacred

gift," meat something cut or bitten, fruit something different again; we live by one, devour the other, enjoy the third, may perhaps touch the distinctions.



Manik, Lamat, Muluc, Oc, Eb, Ben, Cib, Et'nab all have no etymological meaning in Maya or any Mayance language, matching the meanings of the days in the established general calendar; and every attempt to force the needed meanings into them has proven in the last degree unscientific. (Such as Brinton's suggestion connecting Oc, to enter, with the dog that enters to steal; or mani-ik for the swift, passing wind or like the running Deer!!)

In fine, we can by the aid of Comparative *Mayance* Linguistics establish an almost complete unity of meanings for the whole series, but for nearly half of our northern *Maya* words, as given by Landa, we can only conclude that they are archaic survivals, with their meanings lost. This is with the possibility, that in cases like Manik, and perhaps Cib, an entire new meaning as well as name has been introduced. And this probability is incidentally reduced by the presence of the Oc, the word meaning not 'dog' but 'enter,' while the glyph preserves the idea, showing the significant dog's ears.

The very confusion thus summarized should be a warning to go slow.




Against this general background of available material let us now take up individual glyphs; and first Imix. The Aztec sign here shows a kind of monster, fairly corresponding to the dragon figures so common in Maya.

In the codices we find some 30 primary derivatives under Imix, and about 60 secondary, plus about 17 compounds where it appears to modify or be subordinate to another main element. In some of these positions its use is clearly based on its value as day-sign; thus the form 1.1.1n  stands for "8 days to tie up the Imix count." As prefixes with  known values it may take on the signs for red, white, black and green. It combines with at least 20 other main elements, for the full list of which the student must refer to our Outline Glyph Dictionary. Remember, too, that when the stone monument glyphs are finally worked into the list by others hereafter, the total of our known surviving forms will probably be at least doubled.

This however is not all we have; we still have the pictures in the codices to help us along. There are about 90 pictures in the Dresden where the personage or deity is holding out one or another of some 20 different objects: plants alone or in a vase, grains in a vase, food-animal

in a vase, kan-sign in a vase, a yaxkin, rattle, bag, etc. Also the kan-sign in his hand 21 times, kan-imix once, and imix once, where the god is seated on a maguey plant.



In the Madrid we find six vases with a kan and three with imix; (see later, under discussion of vases). Thirteen times the god holds a kan (usually at the end of a corn-planting *tzolkin* series), once an imix, and six times kan-imix  joined. One is tempted to ask here, why has this plethora of indicative action-pictures been left all these years of supposed research, unsorted and unchecked into their corresponding text-glyphs above the pictures. Surely here is a wider open door than mere date-glyphs with a side-text lacking all association data save the numbers incident to mere calendric time or planetary periods.




It is upon the rather ample allowance of actual picture associations that I ventured to suggest in the OGD two secondary values for the Imix-sign, apart from its primary calendric value. First, as based on the *Izamná*, or great dragon of the waters, a possible value of 'the great green water, the deep'; this with hesitation. Second, on the persistent kan-imix compound, a joint value of 'corn and wine.' (Not if you please, 'corn and








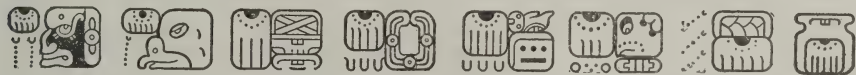
milk.) I must admit an etymological hiatus between the 'great water' and 'wine'; but the 43 pictures where the god gives sustenance—the kan, and the 200 instances of the compound kan-imix are too many to be ignored. Besides, we have in support the maguey figure, and the very important fact that the ceremonial drink would be wine—given us by that great magician. (*Itz* in Maya means 'magician,' *Izamná* the 'house of magic,' *Izamal*, the city, the 'place of the magician,' or of the *Itzás*, the men of magic power; just as *Uxmal* means 'the place of Ux,' a protecting mother deity whose name has survived in only one



or two connections.) See also the reference in the *Chumayel*, MSQ for March, p. 79, to the ceremonial breakfast of bread and wine, in the olden time.

In the text passages the main element  occurs in the three codices about 75 times, either alone with affixes, or as the first part of a compound; kan-imix or imix-kan occur about 200 times.  Imix doubled surmounts the 'monkey-face' head, assumed to belong  to the North. (Note the reference to the White-Imix-Tree for a sign, after the deluge that preceded the coming of the present, Indian red-yellow race, MSQ, p. 81.) Doubled, it also rests on the head of the great dragon, rising from the waters, in Dres. 5. 55 f, page 36—see the illustration above. In this connection note further the arrival of Itzamná over the great waters, seated on the shoulders of Itzam-kab-ain, the 'whale,' MSQ, p. 83.

As glyph-form 1c  it rests on the head of the plumed serpent, in the Paris codex,  4.d.5. As an affix to the North-star face  it is found with the 'ben-ik' superfix, and joined to a  manik it is used as prefix to a woman's head. With  'dropping water' beneath it stands as a prefix to God B, and also to a vulture head. It is also combined with the sky-sign, running water sign, the 'number 8 glyph,' and with the Oc-glyph with its 'base of honor' subfix. With the 'woven mat' as superfix, it has the 'dropping water' prefix. At Dresden, 66.b.4 it is shown inside a jar.



So much, then, for the glyph and the meaning. Now as to the name, the word itself, Imix. Brinton it was, I think, who first said that the Imix-glyph looked like, and therefore *represented* a female breast; after which he proceeded to 'prove' that thesis by splitting up the word into Yucatecan Maya parts: im-ix. Im in Maya does mean breast, or udder. In the forms Imox, Imos, Mox the day-name reappears in Quiché, Tzeltal and Pokonchi; the early dictionaries of the first give the meaning as swordfish, or 'sea-monster'; in all the final vowel is o, and not i.

Now ix- is the universal Mayance feminine *prefix*, meaning 'she,' and only applied to sentient creatures (the female of the species) plus a few cases of personification in town names, and in some plant-names. Cities are indeed treated as feminine in most languages, just as we also do ships. But Mayance has no formal gender, as Latin and Spanish—only sex, natural or personified. One simply *cannot* say im-ix as meaning 'female' breast. Besides, the 'she' is always a prefix, in Mayance as well as in English; we cannot say 'breast-she.' To etymologize im-ix

in this way is false to every Maya, and Mayance, principle; we can neither cut off the -ix as surplus ornament as LePlongeon would have done, nor can we use it to buttress the meaning breast.

Further still, we have our southern form *Imox*, which we cannot possibly etymologize thus, and where final -ox is clearly not initial -ix. Indeed I much doubt that even Brinton would have devised the *im-ix* explanation had he not previously decided on the breast pictograph, and then used a variation of his 'ikonomatic' punning to *prove* it. In so doing he ignored every single datum except his two Maya meanings for *im* and *ix*, and then combined those in an impossible manner.

I have gone at length into this case of etymologizing *Imix* as simple Yucatecan Maya, partly because it seems to have used about every wrong and unscientific method possible, and partly to suggest that where our three basic elements—Glyph, Meaning and Name—lack the desired coincidence supplied through what has come down to us, the final linkage will come only through a combination of mythological factors and a science of comparative Mayance linguistics, aided and finally worked out by the same kind of association evidence we would employ in attacking a secret code message.

There is a story that a Japanese code message was worked out during the War in our Secret Service by a man who did not know Japanese, or that the message was in that language. He began by assuming *tentatively* (all research must begin thus) that, *if* a war message it would deal with troops, places, numbers and dates. (We know that much, and more, about most of the *golkin* texts in both the Dresden and Madrid—their general subject matter.) Next, he guessed that there would be a repeated symbol corresponding to the punctuation 'stop' in our telegrams. I think the story goes that not only did he first de-code the *meaning* (which is our first objective in our glyph-text studies), but then went further to attach words, which finally verified as the proper *Japanese* words.

I believe that this is the proper road, and that it will not only lead to the secret of the Maya writing, but to a far-reaching expanse of mythological fitness lacking in the other. If (possibly) correct, it agrees the archaic mother-tongue of Mayance. We have seen effort after effort, and constant proclaimed 'solutions' failing; Brasseur and LePlongeon (whose type is still extant); Cresson's and Cyrus Thomas' phonetic alphabets (soon to be followed by another—"a true phonetic solution at last," panoplied by the ancient and honorable aegis of the Peabody.) When I began my Maya Study 34 years ago, I tried to learn from all; found none making good. Like the rest of us, I hoped for the desired 'bi-lingual'—Pinart's or other; ran all the leads out on that, and decided

for various reasons that none existed, or ever had. If, as I suspect, some old Maya Indian has preserved the secret, we may be very sure that he will continue not to tell us, his destroyers. Is left then but one possible road—the same as we use for de-coding: Tabulation of the data, association leads, elimination, by parallelisms and variations in the texts themselves.

Before stopping here I must refer to one principle in Mayance—the 'persistence of the Etymon.' I must explain this clearly. To us Etymology is the discussion or science of the derivation of word-forms from their root-forms. Here we concentrate upon the forms, spelled out in phonetic letters as we learned them at school. The Maya (who neither knew written phonetic symbols nor thought of words as just 'letters'; who did not see 'letters' at every turn from rising until sleeping as we do)—dealt in his course of thought with sharply defined and etched ideas, the 'True Base,' the *etymon*, never really lost sight of. He could and did use metaphors; but those too were sharp, concrete, not diffuse—vivid as is all ideographic intercourse. He had separate specific verbs for 'eating' bread, meat, fruit. The leaning down of a broken branch (an angular phenomenon) was always kept distinct, whether in etymology or metaphor, from the bowing over, in a curved line, as of a bamboo.

As contributions to the beginning of our 'Forum' two suggestions have come to the writer's desk, touching the glyph for Imix. One correspondent, speaking from his past residence in Central America, suggests that it is a symbolic pictograph, derived from certain physical characteristics of the Ceiba-tree; that the semicircle and dots conventionalize the cotton-bolls of the tree, and the lines beneath its pointed, spread-out roots. The suggestion is attractive as bringing in the already known mythological connection of the Yax-imix-che, the first (or green) Imix tree, and its almost certain relation to the dominant Iğamná cult of the Maya. The ceiba is the sacred tree—even Yggdrasil if you will; as shown by Cornyn, it even links with the rainbow, the divine ladder of the gods from Heaven to Earth. All this does not of course *prove* the pictograph; but it is at least as likely (as pictograph), and it has a mythological fitness *wholly* besides. If (possibly) correct, it agrees with the persistence of the (ideographic) etymon. Between the Ceiba, Iğamná, and the great Leviathan of the deep, there is a visible connection not only of words and names, but of ideas. With the female breast there is none whatever, nor any evidence either collateral or linguistic.

The second suggestion mentioned, lay in seeing the Ceiba contact as supported by the fact that the tree yields a *milky* sap. To that I cannot agree; it is stretching argument too far. The breast-milk idea is rooted

in the act of suckling, the first care of the mother for the new-born young. The use of ceiba sap, even if milky in color, is for quite other ends, and by other ways; it has to do with a wholly distinct set of ideas, in which it is "etymoned."

I hope that my fellow-students and associate members will not feel that I have taken too much of our Forum space in the above. But I assure them that I have barely scratched the surface of the possibilities of study in the Imix-glyph, in the codices alone. We can still ask twenty 'whys' concerning the associations in the compounds above referred to. But Imix seemed to provide the ground-work for a going in detail into the elements of the problem, as pure research, and yet with great objectives, historical and other, to work for; and also for a review of the utterly false methods that have bogged up and held back our vision.





A detailed study of the day-sign *Manik* is valuable for two main reasons: First, it breaks away at every point, glyph, meaning and name, from the general calendar. In this the 7th day is Deer, in Quiché, Pokom, Zapotec and Aztec; in Maya and Tzeltal the names are *Manik* and *Moxic*, for neither of which words do our sources yield any etymology whatever. Further, and still more important, the Maya character is a clear pictograph, a grasping hand; and that meaning is carried out consistently through the text passages in all the codices, and in their accompanying pictures. We thus have a clear case of a substitution of an entirely different name and meaning, and glyph, from that of Deer. Whatever the archaic day-name was, one or the other of the two groups has broken away from it, and we again find the Maya and Tzeltal together, with the others agreeing in their difference.

It is my strong belief, evidenced by many similar cases, that the Maya-Tzeltal is closest to the archaic; yet we have to note that a day 'Deer' seems more in harmony with the general calendar nomenclature than a day 'grasp.' Also, while the sign is steadily used as meaning 'grasping,' we cannot find that etymological sense in either of the local names, *Manik* or *Moxic*.

The second special point of use for our study of the sign for *Manik* lies in its textual use and compounds. As seen in the reference lists in the OGD, it is persistently a 'repeat-glyph,' occupying an identical place (usually the second) in each clause of a *golkin*. It also definitely corresponds to the action, of grasping something, shown in the pictures beneath.

Its glyph-text value being thus clear, and actually translatable, it provides us with valuable opportunities of studying the inter-change of its

affixed minor elements. To illustrate this we here reproduce entire *golkin* 15 in the Dresden. The action is clearly the use of the fire-drill held by the *manik*;  the fire-drill prefix appears in positions *abcd*-1; the name and appellative glyphs of the four deities are in the 3rd and 4th places. Position 2 shows a double-*manik* with changing prefixes.  Our immediate question is—why these changes, and what their purport? To find an answer to that here, would help enormously elsewhere; they *must* mean something.

Now *golkin* 15 begins a division of the text which goes on with repeating and shifting changes, to *golkin* 25. These repeats and shifts are marked by alternating repetitions

1 *manik*, *cauac*, *chuen*, *akbal*, *men*



Dresden, *golkin* 15






In *golkin* 16 the initial glyph changes, but the double-*manik*, with the same prefix as in *golkin* 15, a.2, continues in the same second position.

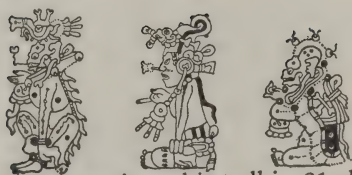
In *golkins* 17, 18, two pairs of gods are seen in conversation, with part of the previous initial glyph in place 1 and the fire-drill prefix in place 2, but the *manik* absent.



In *golkin* 19 the *manik* reappears with two deities of which the first holds a vase with seeds, and the second a growing plant.

In *golkin* 20 other deities are shown as holding vases of seed or grain (perhaps represented in the initial glyph  repeated as *abcde*-1) while the double- *manik* comes back in the second place with a prefix which  apparently represents a hamper.

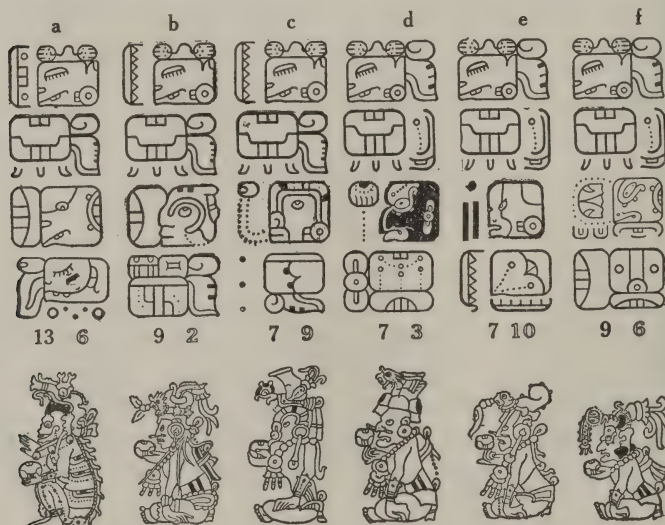






In passing, this *golkin* 21 shows how close we really are in some cases to a full translation of at least some single sections. Glyphs a. 2, 3 are those of the death god, pictured below; b. 2, 4 are those of the so-called 'young god' or priestess (OGD, glyph 123), with the appellative glyph usually assigned to the Old God, the 'lord of time,' (see OGD, page 54); c. 2, 3 are again the normal pair of glyphs of the death god, pictured below. Glyphs a. 4, c. 4 are the glyphs of ill omen, constantly found with the death god or in destructive clauses, while b. 3 is the *kan-imix*, a beneficent sign, with a beneficent deity. Therefore, assuming for the time that *kan-imix* stands for 'corn and wine,' the gifts of the protective gods (invoked by the ritual chant of which the *golkin* text passages most certainly were representative or mnemonic), we have only to determine the specific value of the above 'repeat-glyph' used as the initial through both *golkins* 20 and 21, and also that of the above 'ill-omen' sign repeated in clauses ac, to attain a complete *glyph*-translation for the whole of *golkin* 21. And that, then, will leave us only the mythological questions involved in the identification of the deity in clause b, why the appellative glyph of the 'old god' is given here; and finally, the symbolic evaluation of the various costume details, as part of the progressive mythological work-out.

6 ahau, eb, kan, cib, amat

Dresden, §. 22



In *tolkin* 22 six deities hold the *kan*-sign in their hands, the corn, while the affix changes in position 1 and 2 are again interesting. Places abcdef-1 show glyph 23.9 with elements 324 and 601 as prefixes in abc-1, and 609 as postfix in def-1. Places abcdef-2 show a *kan*-form, 4-3, with the same element 609 as postfix in abc-2, and element 602-a as postfix in def-2.

From a rather extended comparison of its use and positions not only in the codices, but also in the much studied Supplementary Series on the monuments, there seem to me strong grounds for considering the element 609  as a sign denoting the end of whatever may be the indicated action—taking, milpa-burning, passage of time or calculation. I am also coming to see in the prefix  element 324, a possible introductory sign, in a way like the Maya lay: "this now"—etc.

In *tolkin* 23 we now again get

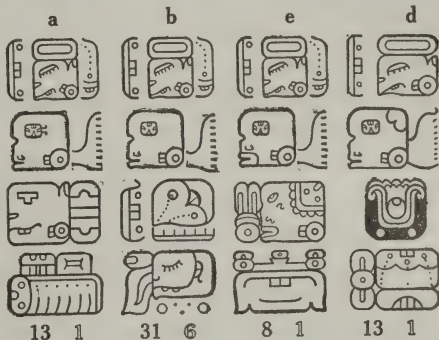
glyph 23, in the form 23.1.2, showing both above affixes, 324, 609, pre- and

post-, with glyph 91.1 in positions abcd-2. The second deity in the pictures is a death-god tumbling head-first, while the other two seem to hold forth the product of the plantings.

This *tolkin* ends at the right of page 15, middle division, but the story goes on, returning to the lower division of page 4. Here,

in *tolkin* 24, we find glyph 345.8.1 in positions abcd-1 and again our double-manik in place 2; while the four gods seated below hold in their hands this same initial glyph (less the

1 ik, manik, eb, caban, ik




Dresden, *tolkin* 23





Madrid codex, where it is matched by the shoots that appear growing and then budding, as to suggest that value for the glyph itself. In the

prefix, of course). The upper part of this compound 345.8 may perhaps represent a hamper, and the lower part, showing a curved loop, occurs so often on pages 89-102 of the


accompanying pictures death preys, the hatchet  and birds attack, yet the corn grows and finally comes to bearing, by the aid of the magic ritual and ceremonies, done in those days as we still pray today in the churches for rain and crops.



Finally the story comes to an end with *golkin* 25, where we see four gods holding what may be a vase and pouches, their special glyphs occupying places *abcd*-2, 3, 4; while place *abcd*-1 shows the well-known *kan-imix* compound,  and which we must think denotes "food and drink, corn and  wine." (The student may here note that the next *golkin* clearly begins another subject division, running to *golkin* 33, and distinctively marked by a repetition of an outline of dots about the successive initial glyphs. Query: why the dots?)

In the face of the above evidence it is impossible not to regard the *manik*-sign as denoting a grasping or holding; while the play and change of affixes, initial glyphs, and activities, should surely lead to an evaluation of these affixes that would go very far toward unraveling a great many other passages.





Because of its relation to the above suggestions as to glyph-incorporations, especially in connection with the vase pictures, the glyph and day-sign *Cib* should here be mentioned, for what little can be said of it. As a compound-forming glyph it is entirely sterile; as a day-sign it appears in the three forms above. The day in the general calendar is either Owl or Vulture; we can surely see neither in the Maya glyph. But when we turn to the day-name we again find Maya and Tzeltal in accord, with the correct change in spelling: *ch* for *c*. Thus we find there *Cib*, *Chabin*, not untranslatable like *Manik*, *Moxic*, but each meaning 'wax,' one in Maya, the other Tzeltal. If anyone wants to see a pictograph for 'wax' in either of the above day-sign forms, he is free to try; I cannot. But neither can I see the origin of the sign, nor know its historical form-changes. Yet several points are to be noted: the presence of the striped band in each case, the fact that the curl may hang down or rise from the base, be a curl or a double loop like the glyph 345 we just noted, and that it is always distinct from the *caban*-curl, which centers in a solid black spot. See further below, the vase signs. 

Vessels or Jars, of Food or Otherwise




I referred in the earlier part of this article to 'idea-incorporation' as a well-established principle in word formation, in all languages, both in their words, and in compounded characters in Chinese or Egyptian. As suggested by and shown in various examples in the Maya, it seems equally well founded; it certainly appears in pictographs (or in pictures as such), and I am sure it is also found in pure glyphs, such as the thunderbolt sign. This latter is compounded of the cauac storm-sign, with affixed flames and club; the thunderbolt being actually called in Pokonchi *rak-cahok*, *rak-ti*, the tongue of the storm, or of the (storm-) dog; paralleling the ordinary word for 'flame,' *rak-kak*, 'tongue of fire.'

In its simplest form this idea-incorporation occurs in *pictures* of food jars or vessels. We have on our pantry shelves pots or cans labeled "sugar, tomatoes, fish"; whatever marks or signs represented like things to the Maya, it is to be expected that they would so mark their jars. One correspondent writes that he has seen such jars, as 'water-jars' marked with the dropping dots . Underneath the day-signs prefacing Dr. 5. 64, and also in the picture at the top of page 35, we find the sign here given. The curl here is the same as that of one form of *Cib*; but is that the explanation? If the meaning is to be transferred from 'wax' to 'honey,' and the dropping dots denote a liquid, what has a 'honey-jar' to do in this text? We might accept an incense-jar as appropriate, but hardly honey.

Above this jar in the picture on page 35 are three pots, marked as nearly all vessels in the pictures are, with the sign  apparently the same as that to which Landa gives the phonetic value *u*. Now this word

u has three wholly distinct meanings in Maya: it serves as the 3rd pers. sing. poss. pronoun before nouns beginning with a consonant only (not a vowel); it also means the moon; also a necklace or string of beads, *sarten*.*

Now, climatic and like conditions have given rise to three main cultures in history, based on the food-grain of the region: wheat, rice, and corn. In each the bread-stuff is 'food' *per se*, and comes to be worked into the ritual and religion: the "honorable rice," the wheat-fields of Amenti, the corn of the Indian. In Maya bread, the tortilla, is *vah*; to eat is *vi*, and eating *vil*. (In the older texts wheat bread was always *castellan-vah*; in Yucatan today one asks for *pan francés*, as distinct from the far superior tortillas.) I can see no necessary objection to thinking of *u* as the root of *vah*, *vi*, *vil*, though I have found no statement to that effect in the Motul or elsewhere. But I am not ready yet to see an etymological phonetic connection here with the exceedingly common, almost universal prefix  simply on Landa's calling it 'the letter U.'

That the mark appears just below the *open top* of a receptacle in nearly every *picture* through the codices, is clear; where it is absent that absence may easily be casual. I do not think it is meaningless; I take no glyphic elements as meaningless, and every time in the past I have started out as doing so, detailed comparisons have shown the contrary. The mark clearly *belongs* in some way, on jars; but its meaning a *food-vessel* is quite doubtful, for concrete reasons. That is, it is used, *added to the jar outline*, in places where food cannot possibly be intended. On page 74, Dresden, the old woman is pouring part of the cataclysmal flood from an upturned jar with this mark; it is wholly contrary both to Maya practice and to the principle of 'idea-incorporation' to *add* a food-sign in such case. We also might *use* a jar marked "flour" to gather and pour out water, but we would not *label* a water-jar, or reservoir, "food."

* As meaning necklace it has been forcibly expanded, with no support whatever, to *au*, so as to explain the word *Ahau*, lord, king, as 'he of the collar.' This violates several facts: *u* is in Maya a necklace, not a collar; we have no evidence that a necklace or even collar was held by the whole Mayan race as the royal insignia; the prefix *ah-* is used to give the occupation, status or citizenship, and is not used merely for a thing owned, possessed. While as a fact the root of *Ahau* is *au*, *av*, the general word for milpa, corn-field, farm; a word almost lost in northern Maya, but very common, with many forms, in all the southern branches, including Tzeltal; the *ahau* is the Planter, land-owner. I have elsewhere commented at length on the false theories that have been raised on a wholly un-Maya derivation of *vinal*, the 20-day month period, from *U*, in its meaning 'moon.'

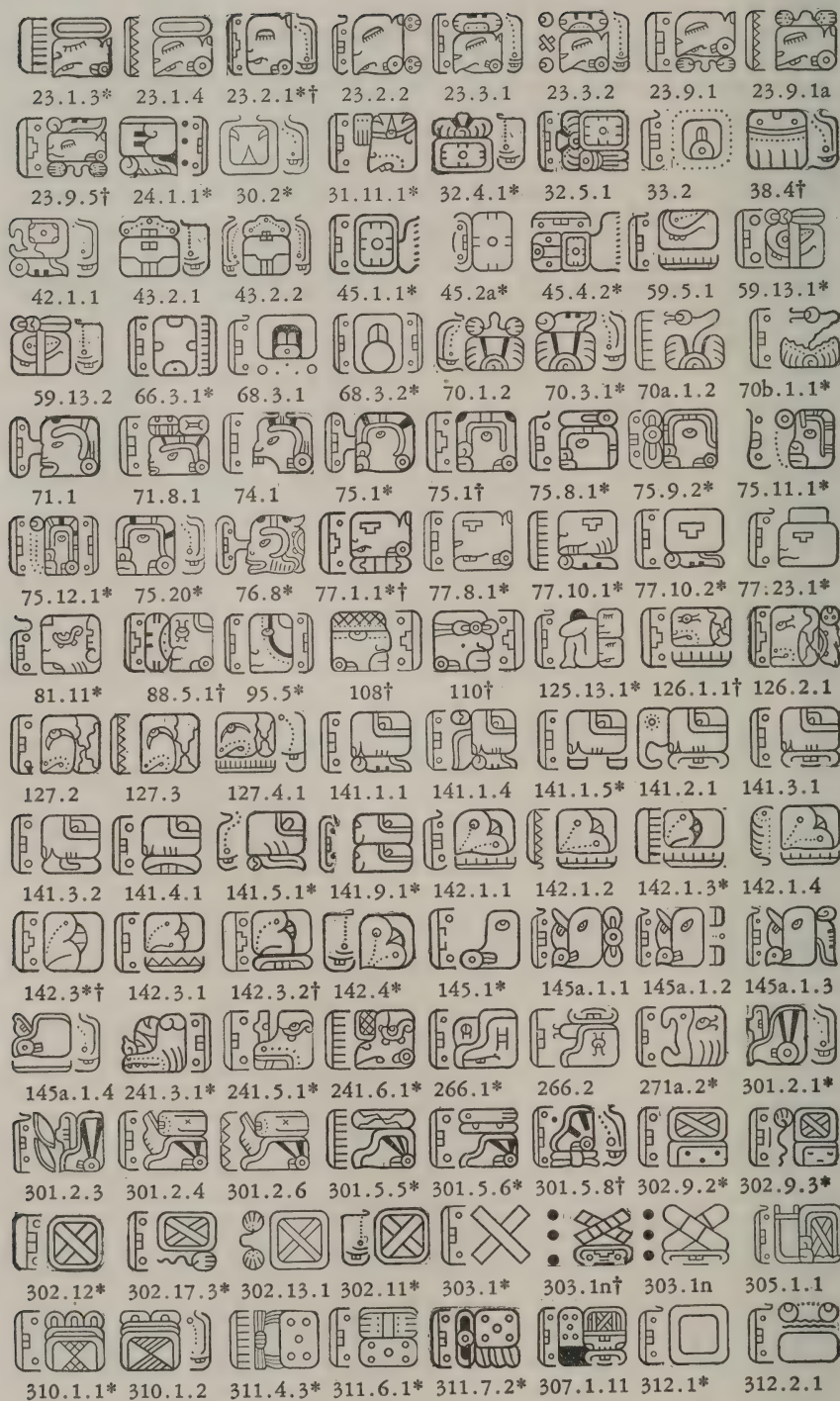
To aid our readers, and in the hope of provoking better suggestions, we have added above a series of the vessels as we find them in the codices. We clearly have different kinds of food shown in jars, and perhaps things that are not food at all; but we certainly must *draw the line between pictures, as such, and glyphs*. A hieroglyphic or ideographic writing develops *from* pictures; but as writing it is conventionalized in form, and has acquired system, linguistic structure, and syntax. It will be bound, as writing, by definite discoverable rules, which pictures have not. Pictures convey ideas, but give us no linguistic information whatever.

Certain Affixes.



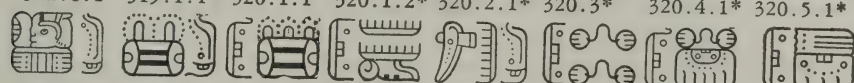
In the foregoing we have covered, I think, the chief classes of forms before us to study—save one: that of the affixes. From the very start of my study of the glyphs, I have believed these minor elements to hold the secret of the system, its structure and its syntax. And the commonest affix of all is that which apparently corresponds to Landa's (phonetic) "letter u." To serve the present article I have therefore gone through all glyphs that take this affix, and include herewith all those forms that yield any present points for study.



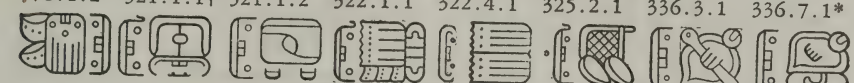




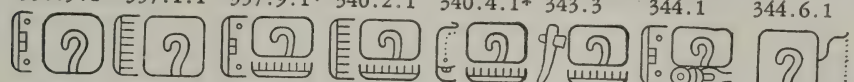
312.6.1 319.1.1* 320.1.1 320.1.2* 320.2.1* 320.3* 320.4.1* 320.5.1*



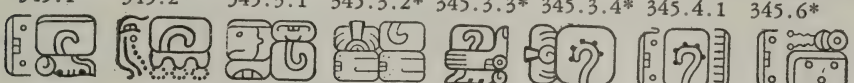
376.1.2 321.1.1† 321.1.2 322.1.1 322.4.1 325.2.1 336.3.1 336.7.1*



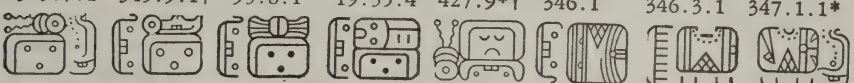
336.9.1* 337.1.1 337.9.1* 340.2.1 340.4.1* 343.3 344.1 344.6.1



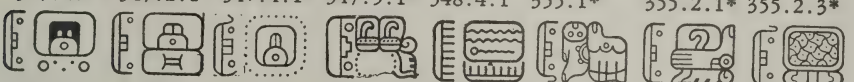
345.1 345.2* 345.3.1 345.3.2* 345.3.3* 345.3.4* 345.4.1 345.6*



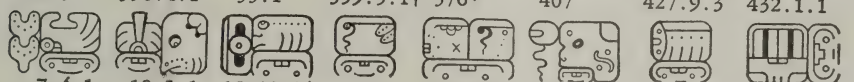
345.7.1 345.9.1† 93.8.1 19.35.4 427.9*† 346.1 346.3.1 347.1.1*



347.1.2* 347.2.1* 347.4.1* 347.5.1* 348.4.1 355.1* 355.2.1* 355.2.3*



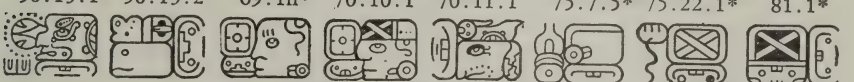
356.3.1 356.4.1* 33.1 359.5.1† 376* 407 427.9.3 432.1.1



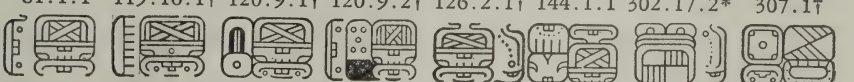
7.4.1 10.3.1 15.10.3* 17.3 19.30.1* 21.1.1 25.9† 50.13†



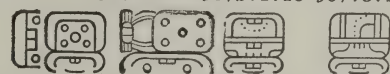
50.13.1* 50.13.2* 69.1n* 70.10.1 70.11.1 75.7.5* 75.22.1* 81.1*



81.1.1 119.16.1† 120.9.1† 120.9.2† 126.2.1† 144.1.1 302.17.2* 307.1†



307.1.1 307.1.2* 307.1.7 307.1.12 307b.1.16 307.8.1 310.1.2 310.3.1*



311.2.1* 311.4.2* 329.1 330.1



324.1 324.1a* 324.1b† 324.2.1 324.3 324.4* 324.4.1* 324.6* 324.6.1*

Above are shown substantially all glyph-compounds in the codices, with prefix or suffix **324**; also a considerable number of those with **322**, **601**, for comparison; also a number with **602**, to be paired with **324**. See below.

In the Paris codex, alone, form **324c** always replaces the Dresden-Madrid form, whether as prefix or suffix. It must be considered a mere scribal variation.

The check-numbers below the glyphs are those of my Outline Glyph Dictionary; an asterisk * denotes that the compound is found only in the Madrid, a dagger † that it occurs only in the Paris. Owing to the difference in subject matter of the codices, a form in the Madrid is more likely to be one connected with farm and planting ceremonies, in the Dresden with astronomical or mythological matters.

The writing in the Madrid is crude, and the position placement in glyph compounds irregular; in the Dresden and Paris affixes have fixed positions, consistently maintained, so that a variation there points to a difference of meaning, which is not the necessary case in the Madrid. The student should note this.

While, as summarized below, the evidence is quite strong that there is a difference in value and meaning between **324** as prefix or suffix, there is one, and only one persistent distinction between the two: that is, as prefix the opening almost invariably faces toward the main element, while as suffix or postfix it is turned away, or outwards.

The above distinction applies to the way the glyph is written; there is one other patent difference, after one studies the compound forms. This is, that the **324abc**, or prefix form, is not only used with an immense number of different glyphs, but also seems to stand in free association (about as do adjectives or prepositions in English); the suffix on the contrary, is used with a more limited number of main elements, and with at least half a dozen of these seems to be fixedly attached, the main element seeming to be 'incomplete' without the suffix. These cases are notably the **Caban**, **tun**, **caan** (sky), the similar forms **329**, **330**, and also the face-glyph of the night-god, gl. **81**. The way the above is done seems to me to suggest a syntactic difference, as if the prefix constituted a qualifier or a particle of relation, and the suffix a determinative of class.

The **324d** form is also used in the manner of a main element; see the compounds above.

With the above all-too-scanty notes as a preface, we may look at the compounds into which the above affixes enter. We take up first the prefix:

It is used with **Imix** only twice—both times in the Madrid.

With **Ik** in several forms; note the reverse position in **2.2.2**.

With **Chicchan** once, doubtful.

With **Cimi**, **Manik**, **Men**, **Caban** and **Ahau** many times.

With **Cauac** only when it is the **tun**-glyph variant; not in the natural meaning of 'rain-storm.'

With both **22** (death) and **23** many times.

With the month or **vinal**-signs only once safely, with **Mol**; perhaps with **Yaxkin**.

With the colors not often.

It is the specific prefix of the North, or the North Star god, whether in form **71.1** or **75.1**; without the prefix, it is probable that the face alone does not mean the North. The banded headdress probably means 'Lord, Real Man, Ruler,' a man of position, as distinct from a mere person; I believe it to be the equivalent of the prefix **Ah-**, just as the woman's curl denotes **Ix-**; see at bottom of Dresden pp. 61-62.

It is only used five times out of more than 200, with the glyph of **Igamná**, no. **77**; and does not appear at all with gl. **120**, the woman, or White Lady (? **Ixchel**).

With the remarkable 'repeat glyph' 141 persistently.

Also frequently with gl. 142, a destruction glyph.

Constantly with the action glyphs 145 and 301.2; note that 301.2.4, with the **cauac** superfix denotes to carry, but 301.4, with 'mat' superfix represents a covered or thatched building.

The prefix is of frequent use with the 'cross' glyphs, 302, 303, 310; also the sky-glyph, 307.

Also with the firewood glyph, 320; 344; 345 (? the growing plant); 347, the three small dots or circles; and with 355, the loom.

The glyphs omitted in the above frequency list are almost as interesting, and quite as important as omissions, as are the above occurrences.

It is not found with **Akbal**, **Kan**, **Oc**, **Cauac** when meaning storm.

It is of doubtful use with **Imix**, **Chicchan**, **Ix**; the other day signs are of too infrequent occurrence to give ground for study.

It is hardly used at all as a prefix to face glyphs, outside of the sign for the North, and almost never with an animal figure.

The use or non-use of 324 as prefix with astronomical or chronological signs on the one hand, and with agricultural glyphs on the other, should be carefully tabulated and studied.

Its substitution by 322 or 601 is a definite but so far wholly unsolved problem.

There is on the other hand one point where a lead seems to be given by a rather striking use, paired with 602 as a postfix. For this see the pairs 6.9.1, 6.9.2; 17.31.1, 17.31.2; 59.13.1, 59.13.2; 320.1.1 etc.; 345.7.1, 345.9.1; 347.1.1, 347.1.2; also compare the **kan** and **yax** forms, 4.1.2, 4.9.2, and then 4.2.1, 4.3.7. See also cases where both the prefix 324 and postfix 602 are used in one compound, 20.9.2, 23.2.1, 23.3.1.

Finally note that the postfix 602 is used after four month signs, **Tzec**, **Yaxkin**, **Kayab**, **Cumhu**; after 70.3.1 in the long calendar golkin 125, Madrid pp. 65-73; and finally the very important form 426.1.1 repeated across all the Venus pages, and also closing the summation of the lunation terms in the Supplementary Series on the monuments.

Until, then, either confirmed or disproved, the above seems to me to give strong support to a rendering of the postfix 602 as denoting the end of some term or occupation, previously introduced at times by an identical main element, with the prefix 324. Thus: 4.2, corn season, 4.2.1, its end; 4.3.7; (note 4.3.2); 4.9.1 new corn time, 4.9.2 its end; 6.9.1, 6.9.2, death ends; 17.31.1-2, the harvest season, the 'earth producing,' and its close; (note similarity of gl. 17.31 to **Cumhu**, with 'earth' substituted for 'corn'); 59.13.1-2, the tying up of glyph 59 (whether the number 20, or the moon, or whatever it be), and the end of the tying up.





The various forms of 320, the firewood, on fire in 320.1, hewn down in 320.3, and the end of the work in 320.4.1, 76.7.2; in this case we have the remarkable confirmation of form 320.5.1n, where the prefix is exactly the same as is used for the initial or zero-day of the vinals—the starting and finishing times of clearing the milpa land.





Glyph 345 may not unlikely denote the growing plant; see its occurrence and the adjoined pictures in Madrid pages 89-102 (see OGD p. 158), where the corn plants grow, are attacked, die, revive and finally bear; thus 345.9.1 may well mark the end of the growing. If then, as I believe from the above and the many other similar

compounds with the 602 affix (in all of which it simply cannot mean 'moon' as so persistently declared by Morley and his followers) this affix is a 'finishing sign,' its rather remarkable pairing with our 324 prefix should provide a control in our problem as to the actual value of the latter. See also OGD, p. 91.

I believe that the key to the structure of the Maya system lies in these affixes (the written 'particles' as it were), and that there is no more fruitful field for study.

I had intended to include the above special study in the pages of the Outline Glyph Dictionary, but the work of putting that volume through the press was such that I passed the point for further work. In doing this I classed under one number, 324, both forms, and all three uses which I now feel obliged to separate. There has seemed to me perforce developing a distinct general line between prefixes and subfixes,* the former serving as qualifiers, or particles necessary to the sense, and therewith controlling or modifying the main element; as when we say in-action, re-action, counter-action. The subfixes seem more like determinatives of class, and easier to omit in repetition; there are a number of subfixes that are clearly specific to certain main elements. Cimi has its special subfix  So has Caban, the earth,  So Caan, the sky,  and others. The subfix  appears to mark the major gods, as their distinctive ? honorific; its second constant use, in the pictures, is that of a sort of table for the offerings—two uses close in idea-relationship.

We therefore find the form*  with its variants, and the points turned toward the main element, used as a very common prefix, with a set number of main elements, and not used with a considerable number of others. We also have the form  almost identical, save for the short stroke in the opening, and with the opening regularly turned *away* from the main element, as subfix or postfix in a quite different set of associations. The prefix form appears to be more separable from its main element (as a adjective is separable), while the subfix appears in most cases to be integrally united to its main element, as its own special "determining" affix. The main elements which take the prefix either take it or do without it as the context seems to require, and with difference of meaning or construction involved; those which take the subfix form, as the sky-glyph, must have it. This is more or less true of subfixes generally, as just stated.

* Generally speaking the prefix and superfix position may be taken as equivalent; also the postfix and subfix. This is less evident in the second case, where the elements shift position less easily than in the first.

* For convenience in the make-up of the type pages, these small elements are inserted lying flat, instead of upright, as they are to be understood, when used as prefixes or postfixes.

The suffix form is also used apparently as a main element, our glyph 324, for the various compound forms of which see above. That there is a close relation between the two (the prefix and the suffix), in spite of the above distinctions in their use, is confirmed by the fact that the compound forms 324.1, 324.1a, 324.1b, occurring in the three codices, show the Paris codex variant matching the other form here, just as it does in the various cases where the element is a mere affix. We have clearly one single small element, with very varying uses; and, what meaning can be found which will fit all these?

To this we finally add the use of the sign just below the open top of receptacles, as discussed above.

It is these questions which I feel that our purposed "Glyph Studies," with their aroused controversies and discussions, should subserve.

A final brief summary in review of our problem may here aid. We have as facts: A common Middle American calendar system, with 20 day-names, in substantial accord through the whole territory. We have a set of picture-forms for the Aztec, representing the objects themselves, and matching both the names and their meanings. In Zapotec, and modern Quiché and Pokonchi we have sets of day-names, and meanings, quite closely following the Aztec. In the Tzeltal of Chiapas, and the Maya of Yucatan, we have marked variations from the above, and also a long string of names to which we have no known etymological origins or meanings, in either tongue, as spoken from the Sixteenth century down. We must believe these to be so archaic that their meanings have disappeared; in some cases Maya and Tzeltal agree together, and differ from all others.

Then in and for Yucatecan Maya we have from Landa a set of day-signs, with their 'proper names,' but no meanings given; some few meanings are provided by the different Maya dictionaries, the Motul and others. A number of these day-signs enter as elements into the glyph writings; in some cases their meaning there is clear and consistent, in others obscure or wholly dark.

We have on the stone monuments calendric and other inscriptions, which are in themselves mathematically clear and consistent, but give practically no light on their accompanying texts. On the 216 pages of the three surviving codices we have, however, text sections in great number, with pictures of which they are obviously descriptive, or at least related thereto in a definite way. At times the text and pictures actually translate each other's meaning; leaving us the task of trying to restore the spoken words corresponding. For this we have at our call long and excellent dictionaries and grammars of the languages in the various

Mayance sections—as spoken at the time of the Conquest. And we also know as a fact, that the glyphs could still be read, and were in use then, and until the last years of the 17th century. *But*, these very glyphs are the same as appeared on the oldest stone inscriptions, and the early jadeite figures, with dates close to the beginning of our era. Their use and value was fixed thus at 1500 years before the later above-mentioned dictionaries of the spoken languages were written, by the Spanish missionaries for their purposes; and that is a very long time in language history. In that time Latin had changed to all the modern Romance tongues, and the Gothic of Ulfilas had become modern English; Stoll estimated that at least 2000 years in time was necessary to develop the modern Mayance tongues from the archaic original—*which must have been that of the early monument builders, and wherein they read these glyphs.*

To the above day-sign list (to close) we must further add the month-signs, cardinal point signs, colors, and just a few besides, resting on the Landa record, directly or indirectly. A few others (such as the sky-sign, etc.) have been added by different students, on purely association evidence. I believe that in my Outline Glyph Dictionary I showed the values of certain others (both single and compound) on the same kind of evidence; and I also think that certain characteristics of the system itself as a written ideographic script, with its definite syntactic and structural laws, have begun to come into the light. The rest is now for our present and coming students.

AN AZTEC MASTER MUSICIAN

BY JOHN HUBERT CORNYN

The following account of a celebrated musician who flourished at the court of Axayacatzin, two generations before the fall of the Aztec empire in 1521, is of considerable importance because of the light it throws upon the attitude of the Mexican sovereigns toward music.

The story is recorded by Chimalpahin, in his "Anales," which are, in general, in prose, thus bearing out the statement that the author went back to the hieroglyphic paintings for his data. But the account of Quecholcohuatzin is written in the prevailing trochaic verse of the ancient Aztec chronicles and poems, thus indicating that he recorded a popular poem still current in his day. Here and there he takes liberty with the text; and then the relation changes from the metric form to prose. This is especially noticeable in the closing part of the story, where the author adds on to the story proper, information concerning the descendants of the singer.

It is more than probable that the tale, as here related by Chimalpahin, is but a fragment of a popular poem similar to the "Song of Quetzalcoatl," the "Song of the Ages," the "Tale of Tezauhteotl," "Song of Juan Diego" and other metrical stories still preserved in Aztec; and that the author took from it what suited him for his "Anales."

XIII acatl xihuitl, 1479 años. Auh za no ihcuac yachto yancuican cuicato yn Mexico yn Amequemeque yhuan yn Tlalmanalca Chalca; yehuatl quehuato yn Chalca cihuacuatl quicuicatito yn tlatohuani Axayacatzin; yn peuh cuicatl yhuan macihualiztli tecpan ythualco. Yhuac yntlan catca yn ichihuahuan Axayacatzin yn callihtic; auh ye tlatlaconeme in cuicatl ce pilli Tlalmanalco yn tlatzotzonaya tlatlacoco yn tlatzotzonaliztica, çotlahuac ypan yn cen nequetzalhuehuetl, za hual tollo ypan yn huehuetl, aocmo quimati; auh oncan huehuetitlan ycaya yn itoca Quecholcohuatzin, Amequemecan pilli, huey cuicani yhuan tlatzotzonqui; yn oquittac ye tlatlacahui tlatzotzonaliztica, cuicatica yhuan macehualiztica, yc niman yehuatl onmoquetztihuetz yn huehuetitlan, quicuitihuez yn huehuetl qui pahti yn nehtoltiliztli ynic amo necahualoc yc ye tecuicatia, ye temacehuitia yn Quecholcohuatzin.

Auh yn Tlalmanalco pilli ça hual tollo yn otecucatiaya, auh yn Axayacatzin callihtic huallacacticatca; auh yn ihcuac ye quihual caqui yn cenca mahuiztic yc ye tlatzotzona yhuan ynic tecuicatia omoteneuh Quecholcohuatzin, yyllotlahto, moyoleuh, yc niman moquetz, niman callihticpa yntlan yn ichihuahuan hualehuac, y ye mitotitihuitz; yn oahcico yn oncan macehualloyan, centlapal cacotihuitz yn icxi Axayacatzin, canca paqui yn quicaqui cuicatl ynic ye no mihtotia, ye tlatlayahuallolhua.

Auh yn ihcuac ontlan yn macehualiztli, quihto yn tlahtohuani Axayacatzin: Nocne ynon tlapalpol nican annechhualhuiquilizque, yn otlatzotzon, yn otecucati, amo anquicahuazque.

Conilhuique: Ca ye cualli, tlatatle tlátohuanie, ma yuhqui mochiuaz.

Auh yn oyuh tlanahuati yn Axayacatzin, yc cenca momauhtique mochintin yn Chalca tlaçopipiltin moottatlatollihui, cenca huel momauhtique yn iuh momatque yn achtopa otlatzotzonaya yhuan otecucatiaya Tlalmanalco pilli; yn iuh quitohua huehuetque ytoca Cuateotzin catca, no ahço ce pilli yuhqui ytoca, yn ypampa yn ihcuac yn ye oyuh cenpohuallon matlactli ipan nauhxihuitl momiquilli ynic ome tlahtoque yntoca catca Cuahteotzin yn otlahcatico Tlalmanalco.

Yn ihcuac yn aocmo ymixpan auh yn iuh onomatca Chalca ahço qui-tlatlatiz ahço qui tetzotzonazque yn tecuicaticani yn tlatzotzonqui, quihtoque yn pipiltin Chalca: Otechoncahuilli, otlatlaco yn tocuicacauh, tleyn ticchi-huazque? Amonel ye titlatlatillo nican?

Auh yye oiuh calac calihtic tecpan tlahtohuani Axayacatzin, yntlan motlallito cihuapipiltin yn ichihuahuan, yc niman ye hualla titlani yn canazque, yn quinotzazque yn Quecholcohuatzin yn oquihtoti, yn oquicuatín Axayacatzin; ye quitohua yn titlanti ye quimilhuia yn Chalca pipiltin: Catlia yn amocicacauh, yn amotlatzotzoncauh quimonochilia yn tlatcatl yn tlahtohuani? Ticanaco oncallaquiz callihtic.

Yc niman quinnanquillique quimilhuique: Ca nican catqui; ma quimottilli yn tlacatl.

Yc niman connotzque yn telpochtli Quecholcohuatzin yn Chalca pipiltin; huel iuh momatque ca ompa quimiquiztlatzontequiliz yn tlah-tohuani Axayacatzin, quitlahtlatiz.

Ynic ye callaqui, quitlatenmachilia, quiyahuac quichia yn quenman ye quiçaquih ytlahol tlatohuani; yuhqui tetl oquitoloque Chalca ynic momauhtia.

Auh yn icuac onacic Quecholcohuatzin yn ixpan Axayacatzin, niman ontlalcua, motlancuaquetz, conilhui: Tlacatle tlatohuanie, ma xinechmotlatilli nican, yn nimomacehulatzin, ca otitlat . . . yn mixpantzinco.

Auh ynin tlahtolli amo quin(equi) quicaquiz yn tlahtohuani Axayacatzin, ye niman quimilhui yn cihuapipiltin ycihuahuan: Cihuaye, ximoquetzacan, xicnamiquican, amotlan xictlalicán, nican huitz yn amocauh, huel xiquittacan, xiquiximatican, ca onicxapotlac, ma amoyollo yc pachihui, cihuaye, ca oquichih ca onechitoti, onechcuicati ynin Quecholcohuatl ayc ceppa. Aquin yuh nechihua callitic? nechquixtia, nechitotia, yn iuhqui omochih ca amocauh yez nochipa, axcan noconana nocuicacauh yez.

Yc niman ye quitlauhtia yn quimacac tilmatli yhuan maxtlatl, huel ye yn itonal Axayacatzin; yn xiuhtilmahtli, yhuan xiuhmaxtlatl, xiuhcactli, auh yn quetzaltlapihloni, yhuan quezqui quimilli cuachtli yhuan cacahuatl yn inetlauhtli mochiuh Quecholcohuatzin; cenca qui tlaçotlac yn ipampa yc oquitoti, auh huel quimotonalti yn Axayacatzin ynic ça ycel ycuicacauh yez, aocmo çan ilihuiç canin tecuicatiz.

Yc niman qui nahuati yn tlatohuani yc ye hual quiça Quecholcohuatzin cencauhtihuitz yn ixiuhtilmah, yn ixiuhmaxtli, yn ixiuhcac; yhuan quihuiquilitze yn inetlauhtli cuachtli, yn cacahuatl tlamamallo. Yn oquittaque Chalca, cenca yc mopahpaquiltique, yn momatia ahço cuauhcalco oncon-tzacque anoce ocontlatlatique; quitlapalohua yehuapan nemauhtillo.

Auh yn tlahtohuani Axayacatzin cenca quelehui, quipaccacac yn Chalca yaocihuacuicatl oc ceppa, no yehuantin quinhualtenotzalla yn mochtintin Chalca pipiltin, quin tlatlauhti, quimitlanilli yn cuicatl, oc cenca yehuantin yn Amequemeque ypampa huel yehuantin yn T(lay)llotlaque yncuic, ymaxca yn Chalca yaocihuacuicatl; ompa ytlatlatil yn ce pilli ytoca Quiyauhtzin Cuahquiyahuacatzintli, huey cuicapiquini, ynicán ypan tenehu-alloya cuicatl yehuatl yn itoca tlatohuani huehue Aoquantzin, Chichimeca teuhctli, tlahtohuani catca Ytztlacoçauhcan Totollimpa. Auh ynic quitlan Axayacatzin, yhuan yc quicuepque cuicatl, quiquixtique, quipoloque yn ipan yn itoca tlahtohuani catca huehue Ayoquantzin; auh oc yehuatl ye yn itoca Axayacatzin yn ipan concalaquique cuicatl oncan in ypan inyn omoteneuh xihuitl; quimaxcati, quimotonalti yn cuicatl yn omoteneuh

tlatohuani Axayacatzin; ye tecuictiaya yn itecpanchan yn ihcuac connequia pahpaquiz, yhuan mochipa yehuatl yc quicuicatiaya yn tlapac omotocateneuh Quecholcohuatzin, yn çatepan ytoça Don Jeronimo, cenca qui-tlaçtlaya, quihualcuicatiaya Mexico.

Auh ynin cuicatl ca no yehuantin quimaxcatique yn ipiltzin Axayacatzin yn itoca Teçoçomoctli Acolnahuacatl, yhuan yn ipiltzin, yxhuiuh yn Axayacatzin, yn itica Don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin, tlahtohuani mochiuh Ehcatepec, auh çatepan gobernadortico Mexico Tenuchtitlan, ca no yehuantin inyc tecuicatiaya, yc temacehuitiaya yn itecpanchan Mexico, ypampa ca cenca mahuiztic yn cuicatl yhuan ynin ytenyo yn altepetl Amequemecan yn axcan yc neztica ca çatepetitzin.

TRANSLATION

In the year thirteen reed, 1479, for the first time the people of Amecameca and the Tlalmanalca-Chalca came to Mexico to sing. The Chalca came to sing their war song to king Axayacatzin. The music and the dancing took place in the court of the palace. Axayacatzin was present with all his women, in the palace. A noble from Tlalmanalco sang out of tune and spoiled the instrumental music. His head fell upon the entertainment drum and he became unconscious. There close to the drum was a noble from Amecameca called Quecholcohuatzin who was a noted singer and musician. When he saw that the music, the singing and the dancing were about to be spoiled, he went quickly to the drum, took possession of it and set the dancing going again; and it did not stop so long as Quecholcohuatzin led the singing and dancing.

But the noble from Tlalmanalco remained with bowed head while the singing continued. Axayacatzin, from within the palace, was listening. When he heard with what wonderful skill this (said) Quecholcohuatzin played and conducted the singing, he was pleased, excited; he arose from among his women, there inside (the palace) and went to join the dancers. When he reached the place of dancing, Axayacatzin remained standing to one side listening. He was very much pleased as he heard the singing, and he began also to dance and to make the turnings and gestures (that accompanied it).

When the dance ended, king Axayacatzin exclaimed: "This knave, this clown whom you have brought here, and who has played and conducted the singing, do not let him do it any more."

They replied: "Very well, my lord, the king, we will do as you command."

When Axayacatzin had given this order, greatly afraid were all the Chalca nobles at what he had said; and they were very fearful when they

learned that it was the first time that the noble from Tlalmanalco had played and sung. According to the old men, the name of this musician was Cuateotzin; and perhaps he was a noble by this name for there was one who was thirty-four years old when he died. He was the second of the rulers named Cuateotzin who governed Tlalmanalco.

When he was no longer with the Chalca and they thought that the singer, the musician would be burned or stoned, the Chalca nobles said: "He has failed us; he has spoiled our song. What shall we do? Will we not be burned here?"

When king Axayacatzin had entered his palace and had rejoined his princesses, his women, he at once sent word that they should seize, that they should summon Quecholcohuatzin who had made Axayacatzin dance and sing. Straightway the messengers speak and say to the Chalca nobles: "Our lord, the king, has summoned your singer, your musician. We have come to take him inside."

They replied immediately; they said: "He is here. Let him show himself."

At once the Chalca nobles notified Quecholcohuatzin. They thought king Axayacatzin would condemn him to death; would burn him.

When Quecholcohuatzin had entered the palace they told him to wait at the door for orders from the king. They spoke so harshly to him the Chalca were very much afraid.

When Quecholcohuatzin had come into the presence of Axayacatzin, he ate dust, kneeled and said: "My lord the king, burn me now; I am your servant whom you have called before you."

But King Axayacatzin did not pay any attention to these words. Straightway he said to his princesses, his women: "Oh women, rise up and receive him; seat him among you. Here is your companion. Look upon him with favor; hold him in esteem. I have brought him that your hearts might rejoice, oh women. For he it is who made me dance and sing, this very Quecholcohuatzin; and not for one time alone. He who did this to me in my house; who brought me out; who made me dance, has deserved that he be your intimate companion always."

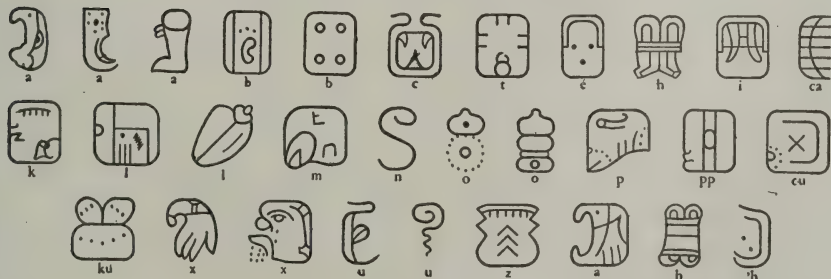
Then he (the king) ordered that Quecholcohuatzin be given a cape and breeches from the private wardrobe of Axayacatzin and the blue and white mantle (worn by the Aztec sovereigns when in the palace). The royal breeches and the royal sandals, the quetzal-belt; bundles of cotton and sacks of cacao were the gifts bestowed upon Quecholcohuatzin. Axayacatzin loved him deeply because he had made him dance; and he bestowed upon him the honor of being his only master of songs. Henceforth he was not to sing before the people except on great occasions.

Straightway the king ordered that Quecholcohuatzin should go forth wearing his royal mantle, his royal breeches and his royal sandals; and that his recompense in cotton and cacao should be carried with him. When the Chalca saw this they were very glad, for they had feared they were going to be put in prison or that they should be burned. They saluted him, still fearful.

King Axayacatzin wished to have the pleasure of hearing once more the war song of the Chalca; so he called all the Chalca nobles and he asked of them, requested of them their song, more especially of the Amequemeque because it was the song of the Tlayllotlaque and the property of the Chalca. It was the secret of a noble called Cuauhqui-yahuacatzintli, a noted song composer, who had made this song famous in the time of the great king Aoquantzin, a Chichimeca noble who was king of Itztlacoauhcan-Totollimpa. When Axayacatzin asked for the song it had been changed, reformed, reconstructed, since the time when the elder Aoquantzin was king. It was in the time of Axayacatzin that they introduced the song in the year already mentioned; and the said king Axayacatl became owner and possessor of it. He had singing in the palace when he wished to have the pleasure of it; and always he who furnished the music was he who has already been mentioned, Quecholcohuatzin, who afterwards bore the name of Don Jeronimo, he whom the king loved very much; and who sang in Mexico.

And this song became the property of the son of Axayacatzin who was called Tezozomocli Acolnahuacatl, and of the son of the latter, the grandson of Axayacatzin, whose name was Don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin, who became ruler of Ehcatepec and was, afterwards, governor of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The latter continued to have singing and dancing in their palace in Mexico; for this song was very beautiful; and it was the glory of the town of Amecameca, which is now but a little village.

The Landa So-called "Alphabet"



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In preparation:

- 11 Chilán Balam of Chumayel, text and translation
 - 13 A Grammar of Maya
 - 14 Maya-English-Spanish Dictionary
- Also Grammars of Choltí, Kekchí, Pokonchí, Quiché, Mam and Huastec, to follow promptly after issue of No 13.

Note: Attention is called to the fact that the font of Maya type and the drawings used herein and in the Outline Glyph Dictionary are the property of the Maya Society, and covered by its copyright; permission should be asked before the use thereof in other publications.



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of the Maya*

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Publication No. 1: AN OUTLINE DICTIONARY OF MAYA GLYPHS, WITH A CONCORDANCE AND ANALYSIS OF THEIR RELATIONSHIPS; by William Gates, President the Maya Society, Profesor Honorario del Museo Nacional de México, Research Associate, the Johns Hopkins University. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1931. \$35.00

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